

**SHOPPING IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE HUDSON'S BAY
COMPANY AND ITS TRANSITION FROM THE FUR TRADE TO RETAILING**

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Abstract

The South Battleford Project began in 1972 with salvage excavations in the historic town of Battleford, Saskatchewan. This work encompassed a Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) post in operation from 1876-1885 at which time it was burned down during the North-West Resistance. Although the store was raided and subsequently set on fire, the excavated cellar depression revealed many of the types of goods that would have been available to the community during the late nineteenth century. The catalogue and classification of artifacts from these Battleford excavations are completed in this thesis, along with a historical reconstruction for the study area.

The data from the South Battleford Project are also used to examine the HBC's transition from fur trading to retailing during the late 1800s. Very little research has been done in this area of Canadian history, especially when compared to the vast amounts of data gathered on the preceding fur trade era. As Battleford was the capital of the North-West Territories (1876-1883) and later played a role in the North-West Resistance, the town has an important place in the history and development of western Canada. Therefore, this archaeological site has significant value and adds to the extensive historical reconstruction done at the National Historic Site of Fort Battleford. This research provides a glimpse into the economic environment surrounding Battleford and the western Canadian plains in the late nineteenth century.

Although the HBC had successfully accommodated to the demands of the native trade they were slow in adapting to the growing Euro-Canadian market on the western plains. Increasingly, local competition began to emerge in the form of general retailing, further inspired by the ability to obtain cheap goods from wholesalers in Winnipeg. The HBC, still operating out of London, struggled to keep up with shifting trends and technologies and thus lost much of the local business. Maintenance of long distance trade networks further inhibited efficient supply routes and delayed the arrival of goods at western posts. Together through the use of archaeological remains and historic documents, the Battleford economic environment is reconstructed, including the HBC's struggle to compete for the local trade. It is thus demonstrated that prior to the development of HBC department stores in the 1890s, this long established trading company was slow in profiting from the emerging retail business in the Canadian west.

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List of Abbreviations

HBC = Hudson's Bay Company

NWC = North West Company

NWMP = North-West Mounted Police

NWT = North-West Territories

RSM = Royal Saskatchewan Museum

UMC = Union Metallic Company

Chapter 1

Introduction

The subject of this thesis is the combined archaeological and historical investigation of an early settlement-era Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) store dating from 1876-1885 in the historic town of Battleford, Saskatchewan (Fig. 1.1). The store itself was burned and looted during the North-West Resistance of 1885 and was subsequently relocated to the new townsite situated next to the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) Fort. The old store site was excavated in 1972 as part of a salvage project (Perry 1972) and the analysis of the South Battleford Project has been completed in this thesis. Furthermore, the results from the excavated HBC store, along with surviving historic documents, have been used together to determine the HBC's adaptive strategy during their transition from fur trading to retailing on the western Canadian frontier. It will be shown that the HBC demonstrated a delayed response to the changing economic environment on the plains during the late 1870s and 1880s and as a result struggled to remain competitive with other modern retailers at that time.



Figure 1.1 - Southern Prairie Provinces; "A" indicates location of Battleford. Google maps 2011.

1.1 Background to the South Battleford Project

The South Battleford project began with an announcement in the North Battleford *News-Optimist* dated May 9, 1972 (Perry 1972). It reported that the government had made plans to relocate a stretch of Highway 4 south of Battleford, which would require a new river crossing over the Battle River to the east of the current C.N.R. bridge (News-Optimist [NO], 9 May 1972:1). These changes would result in the division of the historic area known as Telegraph Flat and would thus bisect the former townsite of Battleford. Specifically, the construction would be cutting through the site of an old HBC post, dating back to 1876 (NO, 4 July 1972:20). Concerned citizens of the Battleford area wrote to the Museum of Natural History, now known as the Royal Saskatchewan Museum, and made an urgent plea to salvage and preserve the section of the old town that would be disturbed. Negotiations between the departments of Highways, Natural Resources, the Museum and Extension Services were soon initiated and by the end of the first week in June Mr. Eiling Kramer, Minister of Highways, had approved the project (Perry 1972). It was to be a “co-operative endeavour to preserve a part of Saskatchewan’s history” (NO, 4 July 1972:20). Funding from the Department of Highways was approved in the amount of \$6,000 and excavations, under the care of the museum, commenced on July 4, 1972 and carried on until the end of August.

Media coverage of the project was substantial. On three separate occasions, details were televised on CKBI-TV local news and a film crew from CBC Television in Regina recorded 12 minutes of film in late August that was shown on CBCRT-TV’s FYI program in December of 1972 (Perry 1972). The interview was also aired over CBK Radio on August 28th, 1972. Various other newspapers provided extensive coverage, with the local North Battleford *News-Optimist* dedicating almost the entire front page to the project on two separate occasions (NO, 1 August 1972:1; 1 September 1972:1). Other newspapers that ran stories included the Regina *Leader-Post*, the Saskatoon *Star-Phoenix* and even St. John’s Newfoundland’s *Evening Telegram* (Perry 1972). Major artifacts recovered were placed on display for public viewing at the Museum of Natural History in North Battleford and on November 8th, 1972, a talk entitled “The Search for a Lost Community” was given on the excavations to the Regina Archaeological society (Perry 1972). More recently, in June of 2008, an exhibit along with tours and talks was organized by the North-West Archaeological Society in North Battleford showcasing the 1972 project. Although excavations of the South Battleford Project were completed in 1972, most of the

artifact analysis and historical reconstruction had yet to be completed when Perry's preliminary report was produced at the end of that year.

1.2 Research Significance and Goals

The purpose of the research in this thesis is multifaceted. First, through the completion of artifact analysis and cataloguing, a complete historical reconstruction and site report has been produced for the Battleford site FeOb-2. Prior to this thesis, very little beyond the actual field work was initiated and thus the full potential of information available from this site had yet to be reached. Compounding this, was the overall lack of research on this early settlement period, especially with regard to how early stores and communities were adapting to the newly developing economic environment that was emerging from the previous fur trade post system (Brumbach 1985). As much has been researched on this earlier period prior to the settlement era (e.g. Hamilton 1990; Klimko 1983; Pysczyk 1987; Ray 1974), this thesis provides new insights into this later pivotal point in time.

In addition, Battleford was the capital of the North-West Territories (NWT) from 1876 to 1883, and later played a crucial role in the 1885 North-West Resistance (Parks Canada 2008). Not only did Fort Battleford house and protect refugee community members during the so called "siege of Battleford" but it was also the subsequent location of the largest mass hanging in Canada. Battleford thus has a prominent role in the history and development of western Canada, a fact displayed through the development of Fort Battleford National Historic Site. This research contributes to a richer, more complete picture of the past. Furthermore, it also fills in a niche on this early time period and provides complementary research to the data obtained by excavations of the St. Vital cemetery which was in use during the same time period (Hopkins 2004; Swanston 2003). As new evidence comes to light surrounding the events of the North-West Resistance, it becomes important to incorporate these new perspectives on the past and to contribute to the continued interpretive development in this area.

Finally, the ultimate goal of this research is to demonstrate how the HBC adapted to the changing trade networks as a result of shifting settlement patterns from fur trade posts to frontier towns. As the HBC today is often associated with Canadian identity and heritage, it is of interest to investigate the growth and development of this company through time. This thesis explores the impacts of the industrial age and of mass-produced goods on the HBC and how the company

in turn was forced to adjust in order to survive increasing competition. As the settlement era opened up the market to competing companies and brought in new customers who had differing needs and tastes, the HBC could no longer rely on their previous distribution networks and inventories for success. Although some archaeological studies from Fort Walsh (Wutkze 2009) and Fort MacLeod (Forsman 1980) have been conducted, they pertain to a slightly earlier setting when American companies ran the competition and the HBC had yet to adapt to these new conditions.

Specifically, the excavated Battleford HBC store is examined, looking at how it was acclimatizing to these new conditions thus providing insight into early settlement growth of both the town and the surrounding commercial catchment area. As town stores are thought to be reflective of the consumer's wants and needs (Adams et al. 1975; Adams 1976), the store's examination should provide insight into the town's economic system and how it was incorporated into the expanding national economy. As the town was located near several First Nations reserves, trade interactions and differing consumer choices may also become evident from the inventory, reflecting how these populations were also changing in response to the new conditions. Finally, several other stores have been identified in the historic record and it is thus important to understand how the HBC was carving out its place within the community and on a larger scale within the national market.

It was initially proposed to examine variations through time in the HBC store's inventories in order to understand how both the store and the community were adjusting to the changing frontier. This information, however, was not recovered from the remaining historical documents. Yearly post inventories were not available for this particular location and thus the only record of stock comes from what was excavated after the fire and from the sparse references in the historic documents provided by the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg. As very little archaeological research has been done at other contemporary stores in similar environmental settings, it has been difficult to conduct comparisons of results. It is my hope that this project will aid and encourage future research on early frontier settlement and changing trade networks during the 1870s and 1880s.

In summary, the goals of this thesis are threefold. The first is to complete the South Battleford Project site (FeOb-2) analysis, including both artifact identification and classification. Additionally, it is important to make this information available for future research. The second

goal is to contribute and encourage further studies on this pivotal point in history during which the HBC was transitioning from fur trading to retailing. Finally, in conjunction with the second goal, to determine the HBC's adaptive success in transitioning to this newly developing economic environment on the Canadian plains.

1.3 Thesis Layout

The flow of this thesis follows a natural progression from general background information regarding the emerging frontier on the north-western plains to a detailed account of the Battleford area and the results of both the 1972 excavations and the surviving historical documents. The background begins in Chapter 2 with a description of the natural setting surrounding the FeOb-2 South Battleford site. It encompasses the geomorphology, vegetation, mammals and climate of the area.

Chapter 3 contains the bulk of the background information, beginning with some theoretical implications for using historical documents as evidence for reconstructing the past. A brief history of the fur trade follows and includes a summary of the major players: the local native populations, the Métis free traders, the American firms and the whiskey traders. It then narrows in on the Battleford area, describing the development of the agricultural community and its involvement in the North-West Resistance.

Chapter 4 outlines the development of the Hudson's Bay Company store in Battleford according to the historic documents located in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. Proposed recommendations for HBC operations in the late nineteenth century are then reviewed, along with the shareholder's reactions to these suggestions. This chapter provides insights into the economic difficulties the HBC was experiencing at the time and reveals several insider perspectives on the HBC's business operations.

Chapter 5 provides a brief look at the HBC competition, beginning with the arrival of the Red River wholesalers (which allowed smaller retailers to establish in the west) and follows with the impact of encroaching American firms from the south. A local Battleford store is also examined in order to provide a glimpse at the direct competition in the study area. Articles in the local newspaper, the *Saskatchewan Herald*, are reviewed in order to create cultural and social context for the HBC site. This chapter thus provides the economic and social context to which the HBC was attempting to adapt.

Chapter 6 summarizes the details of the 1972 South Battleford Project, outlining the original project goals, the various methods used and the results of the excavations. The next section then describes the difficulties encountered during the re-examination of the collection and the steps taken to organize and catalogue the artifacts. Lastly a discussion on the use of functional categories is provided and includes a summary table outlining the categories used and total numbers in each group. Chapter 7 provides a detailed description of the recovered artifacts, including photographs and historical information surrounding the identified items. Although the South Battleford Project included a total of four excavated areas, only the HBC complex is discussed in detail as it is the major focus of this thesis. The analyses of the three remaining areas have been placed in Appendix B.

Chapter 8 is a detailed discussion of the combined results of the archaeological and historical investigations done on the Battleford site, FeOb-2. It provides some explanations on consumer choice theories as they apply to archaeology and discusses the effects of looting on consumer behaviour and the archaeological record. Evidence is presented to support the hypothesis that the HBC was slow in adapting to the newly developing economic environment during the 1870s and 1880s. Finally, conclusions are outlined and discussed. Chapter 9 reviews the aforementioned goals of the thesis and a brief summary of the interpretations and conclusions is given. Several problems encountered during the research process are also evaluated and finally implications for future research are outlined.

Chapter 2

Natural Setting of the Battleford Area

This chapter describes the natural setting within which the historic town of old Battleford and thus the HBC store were situated. The following discussion begins with an overview of the Aspen Parkland eco-region and includes a summary of a survey report produced in 1877, describing the general lay of the land, available resources and landmarks identified at that time (Fig 2.1). Following is an overview of the area's geomorphology, flora, fauna and climate.

2.1 Natural Environment: the Aspen Parkland Eco-Region in Past and Present

Old Battleford, located on Telegraph Flat, is situated in the eco-region known as the Aspen Parkland of north-western Saskatchewan and lies between the southern Moist Mixed Grasslands and the northern Boreal Transition eco-regions (Fig. 2.2) (Acton et al. 1998). It is within the larger eco-zone of the Boreal Plain, which is located south of the Boreal Shield eco-zone and north of the Prairie eco-zone (Secoy 2005). It is a zone of transition, consisting of alternating clumps of aspen groves and fescue grasslands and which covers 8 million hectares or 13% of Saskatchewan (Acton et al. 1998). The Aspen Parkland eco-region has a unique natural pattern of vegetation which reflects variations in elevations and moisture. Aspen groves are located in moister areas (i.e. depressions), while grasslands occur in drier areas (i.e. hill tops). It is home to a number of species that are present in both the grasslands and the forest, resulting in an environment rich in a variety of both flora and fauna (Secoy 2005).

It has been suggested that the parklands have become more extensive since settlement due to a decrease in prairie fires (Campbell et al. 1994). Additionally, the large herds of bison which once roamed the area, grazing on grasses, are now all but gone, allowing shrubs and trees to grow up. However, as agriculture slowly took over, large expanses of cultivated fields were developed, decreasing the occurrence of parkland cover. The climate has also had an effect on the parklands, as wet periods contributed to the advancement of the forest groves, mainly due to

the lack of fires during these times. Conversely, in drier periods, the grasslands prospered and advanced due to the numerous and often severe prairies fires which took place (Bird 1961:27-29).

According to a Battleford survey report conducted in December of 1877 by W. F. King (King 1877:24-30), the astronomical assistant for the Government, the natural landscape of the Battleford area closely resembled what can still be seen today (King 1877). In his report he describes the various landmarks as follows. A current topographical map of the area has been included, marked with King's identified landmarks.



Figure 2.1- Battleford (Google Earth – modified by author 2010)

“The Battle River, flowing from the south-west and the Saskatchewan River, from the north-west, approach at one point in their course, within three quarters of a mile of one another and then separate, remaining at a distance from one another of a mile and a half apart until they again converge to their junction. The rivers thus form a peninsula about five and a half miles in length, from the forks of the rivers to the narrow neck which is called the “Narrows”. This peninsula is in great part composed of a sandy ridge 60-70 feet high which overlooks both rivers at the narrows, but leaves the bank of the Saskatchewan about two miles from the Narrows, leaving a gradually widening flat and terminating at about a mile and a half from the forks. This flat is marshy along the foot of the ridge, and along the river bank is covered with trees bordered by scrub willows, rose bushes, etc... While the sandy ridge is destitute of wood, except for on the slopes”.

“This ridge is continued on the other side of the Battle River, about three quarters of a mile south-east of the Telegraph office and runs in a south-easterly direction parallel to the Saskatchewan River for many miles, forming a sort of step to a higher ridge which forms the valley of the Battle River. Another high ridge runs along the north side of the Saskatchewan”.

“The low lying flat comprising the whole valley of Battle River, between the ridge three quarters of a mile south-east of the Telegraph office to the bend of the river about three quarters of a mile west of the Telegraph office is known as Telegraph Flat”.

“The low lying flat extending eastwards from the ridge on the peninsula to the forks of the rivers is commonly called the “point”. The sandy ridge on the peninsula, on the highest point of which the Mounted Police Barracks are built may be called for convenience of reference Barracks Hill’. [King 1877: 24-30].

According to King (1877) firewood could be found in abundance near the settlement of Battleford, notably on and along the slopes of the high ridge which overlooks the valley from the south, on some of the islands and in the ravines. Most commonly seen were the Balm of Gilead (*Populus balsamifera*) and other species of poplar; however, several small spruces could be found on the slopes of the ridge overlooking the Saskatchewan, near the narrows. It was believed that there was some coal located some distance up the Battle River as drift coal had been identified in sufficient quantities on the shore of an island in the river. It was not of finest quality; however, it was still superior to common lignite and had been used successfully in the forge (King 1877). Timber for building purposes remained sparse and thus most houses were built of small logs and driftwood from the Saskatchewan River. Large spruce logs were obtained in the spring from up river around Turtle Lake, some 96 km (60 miles) north of the Saskatchewan River (King 1877). Similar types of vegetation, resources and landforms exist today in the Battleford area and are reviewed in the following sections.

2.2 Geomorphology

The Aspen Parkland eco-region is made up of a broad plain, broken by deep valleys and hilly uplands (Acton et al. 1998). The plain slopes downward to the north and east, following the slope of the bedrock surface. Due to a generous cover of glacial drift, the underlying bedrock is hidden resulting in a lack of bedrock landscapes commonly seen in the Mixed Grassland and Cypress Upland eco-regions (Acton et al. 1998). The land surface is largely composed of glacial

tills of various varieties (which are unsorted mixtures of sand, silt, clay, pebbles and boulders accumulated by the glacier), as well as glacial lacustrine deposits (stratified deposits of gravels, sands, silts and clays) which were left during the retreat of the last ice sheet 10,000 to 12,000 years ago (Christiansen 1967; Kupsch 1969:48; Millard 1990). This process of erosion and deposition of both till and stratified deposits occurred several times as the ice retreated and advanced over the area, resulting in the drift stratigraphy that presently exists (Millard 1990). The low lying Telegraph flat area was once covered by a glacial lake and thus many of the earlier till deposits are obscured by the later lacustrine deposits (Kupsch 1969:51).

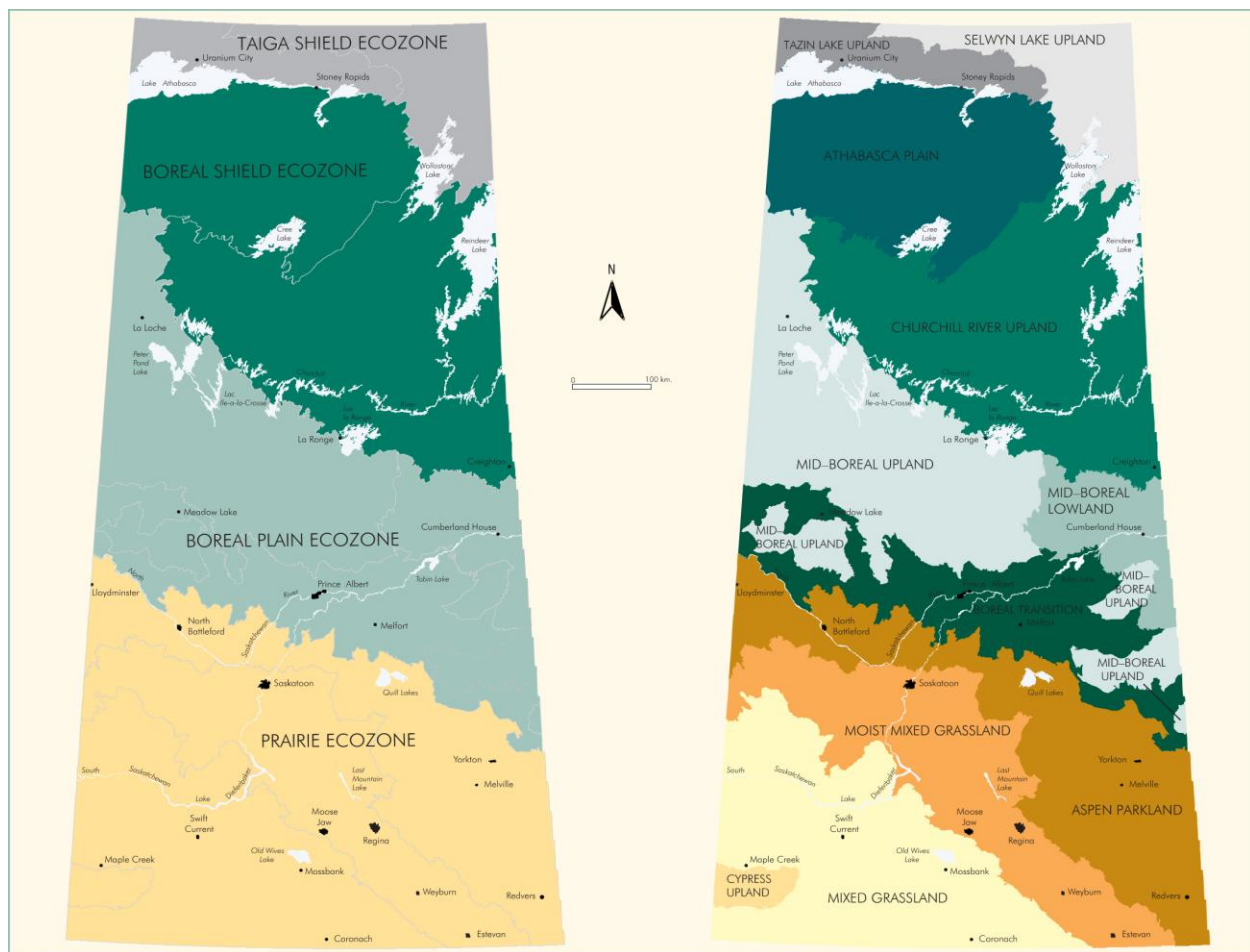


Figure 2.2 - Ecozones and Ecoregions of Saskatchewan (used with permission from the Saskatchewan Encyclopedia 2006: http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/ecozones_and_ecoregions.html)

The Lower Battle River plain, located between North Battleford and Maidstone, consists of a hummocky sand plain (Acton et al. 1998). It is mainly covered by glaciofluvial plains, measuring roughly 550 m in elevation. The area includes the Eagle Hills escarpment which lies

just to the south and east of Battleford and rises over 100 m above the plain (Richards 1969:42-43). The Battle River divides this area, being entrenched 50 m into the ground in the upper region but lessening substantially as it nears the confluence with the North Saskatchewan River (Acton et al. 1998). Within the Lower Battle River plain, the soils are sandy, resulting in a higher percentage of uncultivated land and a larger cover of aspen stands. There are also eolian areas around the Battle River which have sand dune grassland, riparian vegetation and wetlands associated with them (Acton et al. 1998).

2.3 Vegetation

Within the occurring forest clumps, trembling aspen (*Populus tremuloides*) is the dominant species of vegetation, accompanied by an understory of western snowberry (*Symphoricarpos occidentalis*), Prairie rose (*Rosa arkansana*), Saskatoon berry (*Amelanchier alnifolia*) and a variety of herbs (Acton et al. 1998). At the edges of these groves is a narrow zone where short, young aspen fade into a mixture of western snowberry and rose (*Rosa* spp.), which then gives way to silverberry (*Elaeagnus commutate*) and finally to grasslands. In lower elevations, snowberry is more common than silverberry (silverberry may also be altogether absent) while in higher elevations the opposite holds true (Bird 1961).

The Aspen Parkland region also contains many glacial kettles or sloughs, which are lined with sedges (*Carex* spp.) and cattails (*Typha latifolia*) along their margins. In and around these depressions are dense growths of willow (*Salix* spp.), western snowberry, rose, Saskatoon berry and chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*) bushes (Acton et al. 1998). The streams and rivers are predominantly lined with willows, forming the first conspicuous type of vegetation and giving way upwards to stands of balsam poplar (*Populus balsamifera*), cottonwood (*Populus deltoides*) and Manitoba maple (*Acer negundo*). The same progression from aspen to grassland occurs as in the rest of the region (Bird 1961; Coupland and Rowe 1969).

The Telegraph flat area of the Aspen Parkland differs slightly from that farther to the east, as it is considered part of the fescue prairies (Coupland and Brayshaw 1953; Coupland and Rowe 1969) which extend from central Saskatchewan westward to the mountains in Alberta. Plains rough fescue (*Festuca hallii*) is the dominant species of grass which can be described as a relatively tall and nourishing species of grass (Acton et al. 1998). During the days of large bison herds, this area was one of the main wintering grounds for the great Saskatchewan herd, most

likely due to the abundance of nutrient rich grasses combined with the shelter offered by the clumps of aspen from the cold winter weather (Seton 1909:265). To the east of central Saskatchewan, fescue grasslands turn to wheat grasses (*Agropyron* spp.), spear grass (*Stipa* spp.) and blue grama grass (*Boutelous gracilis*), making it less desirable to grazing animals (Bird 1961:5-6). Other major grasses in the area include sedges, western porcupine grass (*Stipa curtisetata*), and June grass (*Koeleria cristata*) (Acton et al. 1998).

In short the area of Telegraph flat is very typical of the western Aspen Parkland zone, where fescue grass and aspen poplar dominate in vegetation. Additionally this region in particular is richer than most areas of comparable size in the parklands as it contains a variety of wetland environments and making it a desirable location for human occupation.

2.4 Mammals, Birds and Fish

Within the Aspen Parkland eco-region, 55 species of mammals have been identified (Acton et al. 1998). Prior to dense settlement of the area, this zone of transition was home to many species of mammals which inhabited both the grasslands and the forest regions (Maher 1969). While mule deer and elk were the dominant species of large mammals in pre-settlement times, white-tailed deer are now characteristic for the area (Acton et al. 1998).

Species that dominated the grasslands but could also be found in the parklands included: Plains bison (*Bison bison bison*), coyote (*Canis latrans*), badger (*Taxidea taxus*), deer mouse (*Peromyscus maniculatus*), vole (*Microtus ochrogaster*), Richardson's ground squirrel (*Spermophilus richardsonii*), thirteen-lined ground squirrel (*Spermophilus tridecemlineatus*) and the white-tailed jackrabbit (*Lepus townsendii*). Mammals that preferred the forested regions but could also be found in the parklands included: moose (*Alces alces*), black bear (*Ursus americanus*), fisher (*Martes pennanti*), lynx (*Lynx canadensis*), wolverine (*Gulo gulo*), river otter (*Lutra canadensis*), red squirrel (*Tamiasciurus hudsonicus*), least chipmunk (*Tamias minimus*) and the snowshoe hare (*Lepus americanus*) (Acton et al. 1998; Beck 1958; Maher 1969).

Mammals that inhabited both grassland and forest regions and thus also the parkland regions included: red fox (*Vulpes fulva*), grizzly bear (*Ursus arctos*), striped skunk (*Mephitis mephitis*), various species of weasel (*Mustela* spp.), beaver (*Castor canadensis*), porcupine (*Erethizon dorsatum*), cougar (*Felis concolor*), timber wolf (*Canis lupus griseoalbus*), lynx and

bobcat. Finally, mammals that preferred to live in this specialized transition zone included: elk (*Cervus canadensis*), mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) and the Franklin's ground squirrel (*Spermophilus franklinii*). These last species occupy or occupied areas of parkland in the prairies region proper, wherever parkland conditions existed such as along streams or in hilly areas (Acton et al. 1998; Beck 1958; Maher 1969).

Birds also formed an important part of the parkland fauna and have become even more conspicuous since settlement and the extermination of larger animals such as the bison and grizzly bear (Gollop 1969). Recently 320 different species have been identified within the area (Acton et al. 1998). In open habitats, the most common birds are the savannah sparrow (*Passerculus sandwichensis*), the horned lark (*Eremophila alpestris*) and the western meadowlark (*Sturnella neglecta*). In more forested areas, the American crow (*Corvus brachyrhynchos*), house wren (*Troglodytes aedon*), vesper sparrow (*Pooecetes gramineus*), yellow warbler (*Dendrocia petechia*) and the American robin (*Turdus migratorius*) are among the most common species found (Acton et al. 1998; Houston 1972).

In regard to people living in the area, the most important bird species were the waterfowl that bred in the region, such as: Mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*), Pintail (*Anas acuta*), Blue-winged Teal (*Anas discors*) and the Canada Goose (*Branta canadensis*). Several additional species migrated through the area, including northern lake and river ducks such as loons, grebes, scoters, scaups, goldeneyes, mergansers, Blue Geese and Snow Geese. Both Trumpeter and Tundra Swans were also present in the area as mentioned in the Fort Carlton post journals (Houston et al. 2003). Wetland birds were also common such as the red-winged blackbird (*Agelaius phoeniceus*), the yellow headed blackbird (*Xanthocephalus xanthocephalus*) and the song sparrow (*Melospiza melodia*). Although not as common, two types of predatory birds were inhabitants of the area; the red-tailed hawk (*Buteo jamaicensis*) and the great horned owl (*Bubo virginianus*) (Acton et al. 1998; Gollop 1969; Houston 1972).

A total of 47 species of fish have been identified in the Aspen Parklands region, many of which would have been available in 1876 and caught in great numbers with the use of nets. These included whitefish (*Coregonus clupeaformis*), goldeye (*Hiodon alosoides*), catfish (*Ictalurus punctati*), and common suckers (*Catostomus commersonii*). Fish which could be caught easily by hook and line included northern pike or jackfish (*Esox lucius*), yellow perch (*Perca flavescens*) and walleye (*Stizostedion vitreum*) (Acton et al. 1998; Atton 1969; Rawson

1949).

2.5 Climate

The Aspen Parkland eco-region possesses a humid continental climate, with temperatures varying greatly between seasons. In comparison to the more arid grassland eco-region to the south and west, the climate here is cooler and wetter, but is warmer and drier than the boreal eco-region located to the north and east (Acton et al. 1998). Moderating air from the west can be inhibited by the West Coast mountains, and the lack of barrier to the north allows the cold arctic air to flow south in certain seasons (Cote 2005). Temperatures are lower at higher elevations than those found on the adjacent plains. The mean contemporary July temperature is 18°C and the mean January temperature is -18.9°C (Acton et al. 1998).

Precipitation is also variable, with a mean average of 420 mm received annually, two thirds of which falls during the growing season between May and September (Chakravarti 1969:56-58). Summers are short yet warm, with the area experiencing on average 106 frost free days (Acton et al. 1998). With the province being located in the lee of the Rocky Mountains and in the middle of the continent, it experiences frequent high surface pressure. This helps to explain the general aridity of the region, but also helps to explain the abundance of bright, clear sunny days experienced in Saskatchewan. These clear skies and general lack of humidity combined with unmitigated winds, allows for large potential evapotranspiration (PET) which in turn increases aridity and dictates what the climate can support (Cote 2005).

More specifically in the immediate Battleford area, temperatures range from a mean low in January of -22.2°C to a mean high in July of 24°C (Environment Canada 2009). Annual precipitation averages 373.2 mm while the mean snow fall is 105.1 cm. The region experiences roughly 123 frost free days and both the warmest and wettest month is July (Environment Canada 2009).

2.6 Summary

The Battleford area, located within the Aspen Parkland eco-region, is a transition zone which has resulted in the creation of a unique environment rich in resources. Characterized by both aspen groves and fescue grasslands, it is home to many mammals, birds and fish thus making it appealing for human occupation. With its favourable climate and productive soils, it is

well suited to a variety of field crops, therefore making agriculture the major land use today in the region.

Chapter 3

History of the Fur Trade and the Battleford Area

3.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the historical development of the fur trade era, from early native trade routes to the first posts on Hudson Bay and through to the intense rivalries of competing French and English firms and beyond. As the focus of this thesis is on the HBC enterprise in the late 1800s it is important to understand the fur trade history behind it. Many of the traditional fur trade stock and operations employed by the HBC during the earlier years became deeply rooted in their business plan, thus inhibiting their ability to quickly adapt to the changing economic environment in the late 1880s. The background information in this chapter will provide a greater understanding on the HBC's position during the transition years in the late 1800s.

The discussion begins with the theoretical implications of using historical documents as sources of information in the reconstruction of past events. This is critical as not all documents are written by and for the same people and thus their perspectives can vary greatly on past events. Such clashes in perspective become particularly clear when the North-West Resistance is discussed in the latter part of the chapter. Moving away from the theoretical, a brief history of the local native peoples in the Saskatchewan area follows, including their roles in the trading community. The HBC's development through the years is summarized, including the effects of the Métis and American traders on the economy and the development of the west. The scope then narrows to Battleford where the research site is located, describing the initial settlement of the area, the subsequent growth and its role in the North-West Resistance. The intent is to provide a background and understanding of the emerging era of frontier life on the Canadian plains.

3.2 Theoretical Implications in the Use of Historic Documents

Interpreting archaeological data is a difficult endeavor, as the forces which determine what materials get buried, which of these survive and which get recovered by an archaeologist, are variable and complicated (Stone 1988). Archaeology thus pulls from many different sources, depending upon the research questions and the time depth of the study, in order to make accurate interpretations. Text-aided archaeology is one such source and encompasses documents, oral testimony, and ethnographic descriptions (Little 1992). Many historical archaeologists have emphasized the use of documents, and urged the development of a methodology which is designed to take advantage of both documentary and artifactual data (Beaudry 1988; Deagan 1988; Stone 1988). Rather than being the “handmaiden to history”, historical archaeologists have strived to “raise the professional standing of the field and its proponents” (Funari et al. 1999: 2). Discrimination and critical thinking must be used; however, as all documents are created by someone, for someone and may represent a distorted perspective of the past (Stone 1988). Today a much more equal relationship prevails between archaeology and history, resulting in a more productive partnership. Used together, these data sets result in a much more complete picture of the past which is the ultimate goal of archaeology.

Two types of documents are available for research: primary and secondary (Orser 2004). Primary sources consist of records written at the time of occurrence, usually by eyewitnesses or someone with a direct involvement with the events of the day. The HBC records, the *Saskatchewan Herald* newspaper, along with the survey maps and notes would all be included in this category. Such documents serve to provide direct observations of the past and create a social context within which the HBC store can be interpreted. Secondary sources are those written after the events have occurred and are interpretations of primary records. The interpretations in this thesis are now a secondary, if not tertiary source. Both types of documents require critical examination, as they can often reflect individual perceptions of the events. They must also be considered within the context and time period which they were written, as this often differs from present day and thus may not be truly understood within today’s context (Little 1992). Using the archaeological data in conjunction with historical documents allows for discrepancies to be discovered and results in a clearer understanding of cultural behaviour in the past (Leone 1987).

Documentary and archaeological data are often viewed in two ways, either as interdependent and complementary or as independent and contradictory (Little 1992). Depending on the research questions, both views are equally viable. In the latter view, documents and

artifacts are independent sources and are played off against each other in order to identify anomalies which can then lead to further questioning (Potter 1992; Purser 1992; Stone 1988). As pointed out by Purser (1992:4) “the seeming contradictions between stories forcefully demonstrate that interpretations rather than facts are the essence of history”. According to the complementary view, each source is used to fill in where the other one fails (Little 1992). Archaeological data can provide new information, especially regarding those situations which were not recorded, or which only represent a single point of view. Documentary data can provide evidence of the social and economic relevance of the excavated materials and can thus aid in testing hypotheses derived from archaeological sources (Stone 1988). It can also help to clarify the written record where details remain obscure (Singleton 1992). As described by Deagan:

“The application of historical archaeology to traditionally historical issues for which there is simply inadequate documentation constitutes a valid and important focus in the field, and one that boasts the most successful contributions of historical archaeology to date” [Deagan 1988:9].

Furthermore, through the comparison of documentary and archaeological data, facts may be confirmed or refuted and insights may be gained on the nature of historical reporting and interpretation. Historic myths which have been perpetuated through documentary interpretations can be corrected (Young 1992), and new hypotheses may also be formed to explain unexpected results (Humpf 1992). Little (1992:4) states that “archaeology raises questions not only about architectural details, but also about the purposes of history and the selective writing of the past both to simplify and to gloss over social tensions”.

Documents can also serve to create interpretive contexts where the artifacts are placed within the historical record (Shackel 1992). Thus the objects are given social and ideological meaning through the use of contemporary documents. In the case of this thesis, the local Battleford newspaper is used to create context surrounding the HBC store in the late 1800s. Today the emphasis of historical archaeology has shifted away from filling in the gaps in history to examining and exploring past lifeways and social processes, particularly “European expansion and colonialism, mechanisms of dominance and resistance involved and the economic and political forms which were generated” (Funari et al. 1999:2). It requires an interdisciplinary approach to reconstructing the past, combining various sources of evidence (Little 1992).

It has become the common belief that history is composed of a series of facts; however, it must be noted that “what happened in the past is not necessarily the same as history” (Orser 2004:172). Recording the past involves the combination of the past (what actually happened) and the present, which is what the historian chooses to document and is interested in. Thus histories become the interpretation of certain situations in the past and are constantly changing with our attitudes and experiences. In fact a single area may have multiple histories, which vary simply through their perspectives on the past. The so called “siege” of Battleford is a good example of this; the residents believed they were under joint attack by the Métis and native peoples, while conversely the latter two groups were acting separately with different intentions. Therefore each group has its own perspective on the events of 1885 resulting in multiple, contradictory histories for the area. It thus becomes necessary to interpret the historical documents, just as artifacts from an excavation would be interpreted.

Traditionally, historic documents pertaining to the fur trade and the North-West Resistance were written by Euro-Canadians and as such they contain little insight on the native people’s experiences, intentions and motivations. The Euro-Canadian view of nationalism is often emphasized, focusing on exploration and civilization of the western wilderness. Until recently, very little attention was given to the native people and their critical role in the fur trade. In the area of fur trade archaeology most early studies (1950s and ‘60s) were conducted for reconstructive and interpretive purposes with an emphasis on Euro-Canadian achievements (Klimko 1994). In fact the native people were often manipulated to represent nature and wilderness which needed to be tamed and thus acted as a legitimizing agent for Euro-Canadian dominance and control (Klimko 1994: 183). It was not until the late 1980s that change began to occur and native stereotypes were challenged. It has now become a focus to combine both Native and Euro-Canadian histories resulting in new perspectives on the past. Thus in creating this background chapter, both perspectives have been incorporated to produce a richer and more inclusive history for the area. Caution has also been observed when using historic documents written by Euro-Canadians as they often fail to include native perspectives.

3.3 History of the Fur Trade

3.3.1 *Local Populations on the Plains*

The various native groups who resided on the northwestern plains at the time of contact played key roles in the development of the fur trade industry, as well as in the subsequent settlement of the northern plains (Binnema 2001). By the 1870s the northern plains were occupied by numerous groups whose territories overlapped intermittently throughout the changing seasons (Russell and Meyer 1999). Such groups included the Nakota, Cree, and Blackfoot.

The Nakota were believed to have separated from the Dakota Sioux sometime prior to the mid-seventeenth century (Lowie 1910). Although it was once believed that they moved west during the early fur trade along with the Cree, it is now known that the Nakota had a much longer tenancy on the northern plains than once thought (Russell 1993). Some archaeologists have hypothesized that the Mortlach phase may be associated with the ancestral Nakota (Walde 1994); however, this is not shared by all (Meyer and Russell 2006). By the 1700s Nakota bands occupied the parklands and forests of the lower North Saskatchewan River and were friendly with the Cree (Binnema 2001). The southern or Plains Nakota were located between the branches of the South Saskatchewan and Nakota rivers and practiced a plains lifestyle based on bison (Kennedy 2006; Russell and Meyer 1999). Their relatives to the north, the Woodland Nakota, live more similar to the Cree (Russell 1991). In 1838, the Nakota suffered major losses from a smallpox epidemic, and continued their move south having been attracted by American traders appearing along the Missouri in the 1820s (Ray 1990). This opened up the plains for the Cree to expand south and to eventually become the main occupants of the aspen parklands and adjacent grasslands (Russell and Meyer 1999). The Cree and the Nakota shared a close relationship prior to the time of contact through trade and intermarriage thus making a clear distinction between the groups difficult (Walde 1994).

Cree peoples are now believed to have been in the boreal forest and parklands of Saskatchewan during pre-contact times and are associated with the Selkirk phase (Meyer 1987; Meyer and Thistle 1995). By the early 1800s some Cree and Nakota bands ranged as far south as the Missouri River and had become specialists in supplying bison meat and fat to the European traders (Russell and Meyer 1999). Like the Nakota the Plains Cree were divided into upper and lower Cree groups.

The Blackfoot peoples are Algonquian speaking, like the Cree, and include three main groups: the Siksika (Blackfoot), the Kainai (Blood) and the Piikani (Piegan). They were also

allied with the T'tsina (Sarcee) and the Haanin (Gros Ventre) (Kennedy 2000). It was not until 1772 that individual Blackfoot groups were identified by Europeans and by the early 1800s they were located on the western extremity of the plains but moved widely between the Saskatchewan and Missouri rivers (Russell 1991:235; Wallace 1932). Together, the various groups are known as the Blackfoot Confederacy.

The Gros Ventre were also an Algonquian speaking group and have been known by many names in the historical record (Kennedy 2000). In the 1770s they occupied west central and southwestern Saskatchewan, probably centred on the South Saskatchewan river (Meyer and Russell 2006). In earlier times, their territory may have extended northeast to the lower South Saskatchewan River and were thus aptly named by the Cree and Ojibwa as the Fall Indians, referring to the strong current in this area of the river (Binnema 2001). Being closely aligned with the Blackfoot, the Gros Ventre are often included in the Blackfoot Confederacy; however, linguistically they are Arapaho speakers. It is believed that the Gros Ventre are the most northern of five Arapaho groups (Binnema 2001). By the late 1700s the Gros Ventre had been hit hard by epidemics and deteriorating relations with the Cree, Nakota and fur traders. Many fled the Saskatchewan country both to the south and west, while a few stayed on trying to mend relations with the traders (Kennedy 2000).

3.3.2 Early Trade

The native peoples of the northwestern plains and parklands were acquainted with European goods long before the first trading posts were built on the Saskatchewan River in the mid to late 1700s. Trading relations among native groups were in place for millenia, with major trading centres located on the west coast, across the plains and to the south (Binnema 2001; Russell 2005). Goods were obtained at these centres and then later traded at smaller, more local annual gatherings. It was through these well established trade networks that European goods first arrived on the northern plains in the early 1700s (Russell and Meyer 1999). The European traders quickly realized that the key to success lay in their abilities to adapt to this pre-existing system and thus the early fur trade was controlled by the native peoples, who often specified that posts be built at their annual gathering (rendezvous) locations (Meyer and Thistle 1995). It was the borrowing of native culture traits which enabled early traders to adapt and succeed in their new environment (Innis 1970).

European traders not only depended upon the native peoples for furs, but more importantly, on the provisions native people supplied the posts with such as meat and fat (Binnema 2001). Many native groups acted as middlemen in the trade network, requiring Europeans to form good relations with them (McQuillan 1980; Ray 1973; Waiser 2005). Additionally the Europeans relied on native guides as the former were unfamiliar with the country's geography (Russell 2005). In order to secure allegiances with the various native bands, marriages between European traders and native women were encouraged (Ray and Freeman 1978). Their offspring became known as the Métis, their culture representing a mixture of European and native traits and eventually they formed the backbone of the fur trade (Light 1987). This dependence on the local peoples meant that trade was conducted according to native protocols, which included trading ceremonies involving formal speeches, pipe rituals and gift exchanges (Innis 1970). Over the centuries, the nature of the fur trade changed. As more posts were established inland, fewer middlemen were required and thus towards the end of the 18th century, the native peoples saw their advantageous positions reduced as firms such as the HBC began to control the trade (Meyer and Thistle 1995; Waiser 2005).

3.3.3 European Traders

The HBC was formed on May 2, 1670 when Charles II granted a charter to the “Governor and Company Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay” (Ray and Freeman 1978:25). This included a territory of approximately 3,625,983 square kilometers (1,400,000 square miles) and became known as Rupert's Land (Galbraith 1957; Phillips 1970; Rich 1959). Under the king's cousin Prince Rupert, the charter granted:

“sole Trade and Commerce of all those Seas Streights Bayes Rivers Lakes Creeks and Soundes in whatsoever Latitude they shall bee that laye within the entrance of Streights together with all the Landes Countryes and Territoryes upon the Coastes and Confynes of the Seas Streights Bayes Lakes Rivers Creeks and Soundes aforesaid which are now actually possessed by any Subjects or by the Subjects of any Christian Prince or State...” [Phillips 1970:3].

The HBC headquarters were located in London and housed of a policy-making body as determined by the charter. It was composed of a governor, a deputy governor and a committee of seven members (Rich 1959). The directors were all required to be stockholders of the Company

and their decisions and tenure in office were controlled by a larger body of stockholders who met intermittently as the general court of the Company (Galbraith 1957). Unlike this highly centralized organization, the competing French traders based in Montreal lacked any central administrative structure (Innis 1970).

In general the HBC trade was characterized by heavy initial overhead costs due to one-way transport of heavy and bulky trading supplies, and a return of light, compact furs (Rich 1959). Self-sufficiency was encouraged at the posts whereby the personnel could live off the country and incoming supplies could thus be reduced (Phillips 1970). Naturally a dependence on the local native groups in supplying provisions became important in further reducing overhead costs (Ray 1973).

By 1682, both English (HBC) and French traders had arrived on western Hudson Bay and set up various posts, one of which later became York Factory (Russell 2005). Both the Cree and the Nakota peoples were eager to trade and made the long trip north to the Bay (Ray 1972; Waiser 2005). Dene peoples from the north also arrived by foot to conduct trade (Russell and Meyer 1999). Possession of these posts changed often, due to wars between France and England, and in 1713 England finally gained control of the Bay (Ray and Freeman 1978). During this time, the trade goods often fluctuated in quality and quantity, influencing many native people's decision not to make the trip north to trade (Russell and Meyer 1999:33).

It appears as though the Cree and Nakota groups living in the parklands-forest region were particularly well-positioned to act as middlemen (Russell 2005). They were able to trade European goods to the grassland bison hunters such as the southern Nakota, members of the Blackfoot confederacy and the Gros Ventres who did not wish to make the long trip north (Binnema 2001). In contrast to the HBC, which remained on the Bay during the early trade, the Montreal traders sent small groups inland to establish posts among the native groups (Innis 1970; Ray and Freeman 1978; Russell 2005; Waiser 2005). By the early 1700s trade at the Bay had declined significantly, forcing the HBC to make contact inland and take on a more aggressive trading policy (Innis 1970; Ray 1973).

In the 1730s, French traders began to expand west into southern and central Manitoba (Rich 1967). By 1741, one of La Verendrye's sons established a post at the mouth of the Saskatchewan River which was soon followed by various posts further upstream (Ray 1973; Russell 2005). Unfortunately for the French, they had troubles maintaining the long supply route

to Montreal via the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes (Gluek 2009). The Seven Years War also resulted in severe disruptions to supplies arriving in Quebec and thus the French trade remained on a smaller scale than the HBC (Ray 1973; Ray and Freeman 1978). Nevertheless, the HBC experienced a decline in their trade which forced them to send men inland to winter with the Cree and convince them to make the trek north to the Bay (Ray 1973; Russell 2005; Russell and Meyer 1999).

After losing Quebec in 1759, the French abandoned their posts on the Saskatchewan and lower Red rivers (Russell 2005). However, soon afterwards Quebec traders re-entered the region, pushing further west along the river and intercepting native groups travelling to the Bay for trade (Ray and Freeman 1978; Russell and Meyer 1999). The HBC sent Samuel Hearne and Matthew Cocking in 1774 to set up their first inland post, Cumberland House (Waiser 2005). This post later became critical for routes leading to the far northwest (Rich 1967). The Quebec traders, followed rapidly by the HBC, moved quickly up the North Saskatchewan River, establishing posts along the way (Russell 2005).

As competition among the Montreal traders intensified, it was clear that some sort of partnership would be beneficial to all parties involved. Between 1776 and 1780, partnerships formed which became the foundations of the North West Company (NWC) (Innis 1970). Some famous traders involved included the Frobisher Brothers, Peter Pond and Alexander Mackenzie (Russell and Meyer 1999). In 1798, the New North West or XY Company was formed; however, the competition was too high and the XY Company was taken over by the NWC in 1804 (Innis 1970). Rivalry was thus left to the two competing companies, the HBC and the NWC, of which the latter often dominated. As the trade increased inland, the supply lines became stretched. The Saskatchewan posts began acting as provisioning stations for the trade and local native peoples were encouraged to bring in country provisions to trade (Waiser 2005).

Between 1778 and 1821, the fur trade industry experienced an explosion of intense competition. Perhaps because the Montreal traders had little centralized authority, they became vicious in their quest for furs, often being accused by the HBC of poisoning, theft, kidnapping and killing to increase their competitive edge (Russell and Meyer 1999:33). The native peoples suffered the most; however, the smaller, single manned posts of the HBC were also targeted (Russell 2005). Although most middlemen positions were eliminated, native groups of the northern plains (such as the Nakota), still retained some power, as the European traders remained

dependent upon them for provisions of pemmican and fat (Ray 1972; Binnema 2001). The Nakota were also able to trade with the Americans whenever they became dissatisfied with the competition, as by the 1820s the latter were moving up the Missouri River (Russell 2005).

By 1821, the trading competition was so fierce and damaging that the two companies finally agreed that the only solution was to amalgamate and the new entity took the HBC name (Innis 1970). The company's headquarters remained located in London, where trading activities were supervised by the governor and committee (Galbraith 1957:8). In North America, two governors were to oversee trade, one based at York Factory in charge of the northern department and the other based at Moose Factory in charge of the southern department (Rich 1967). The northern department included all of British North America from the Pacific Ocean to Rainy Lake, the posts on Lake Winnipeg and the Severn River district to the east. The southern department lay to the east and included Fort William, the north shores of Lake Superior and Huron, the James Bay region and some of the posts in Upper and Lower Canada (Innis 1970). The remainder of the trade in Canada was under the control of the Montreal department. The administration of all three departments was placed under the rule of a single governor, George Simpson (Raffan 2007).

Immediately after the amalgamation, smaller posts were closed throughout the interior in an attempt to minimize costs and maximize profits (Rich 1967). Several of these posts were located at key ingathering locations and their closures upset the local native peoples. Hence many of the posts were later re-opened resulting in the development of many of the northern communities of today such as Reindeer Lake, Lac La Ronge, Pelican Narrows and Buffalo Narrows (Russell and Meyer 1999:33; Waiser 2005). Following the closure of posts, numerous men (often Métis) were left unemployed. Many settled in Red River where the majority became involved in the annual bison hunts on the plains (Russell 2005) and became the suppliers of pemmican and later on of buffalo robes, to the HBC traders (Innis 1970). It was the hard work of these Métis freighters, guides, traders and interpreters that made the fur trade such an efficient industry (Waiser 2005).

3.3.4 Independent Free Traders

Independent traders or free traders were individuals (usually Métis) who conducted the private sale of furs. The free traders in Red River had established trading relations with

American purchasers, thus creating strong competition for the HBC. On December 20th, 1844, in an attempt to prevent increases in private trading, the HBC drafted an order giving them the “right of surveillance of Métis and even the searching of houses of persons suspected of dealing on their own hook” (Innes Papers Saskatchewan Archives [IPSA] 1936-1942). The Métis, with their strong market in the United States, refused to submit to these HBC regulations and instead declared free trade rights (McQuillan 1980). This situation came to a head with the trial of Pierre-Guillaume Sayer in 1849, when he and several others were tried in Red River for illegally trading furs (Light 1987; Meyer and Russell 1999). Although he was found guilty, the withdrawal of similar charges against three others led the local Métis population to believe they were now allowed the rights to trade and free trade was proclaimed throughout the colony (Baker 1999; IPSA 1936-1942). Thus, increasing numbers of Red River Métis began to participate in the annual bison hunts which had commenced as early as the 1820s (Kennedy 1997; Waiser 2005). Generally, trade south of the boreal forest tended to focus primarily on bison provisions.

As the bison retreated westward under intense hunting pressure around Red River, the hunters followed them onto the plains bringing home supplies of meat. By the 1860s the bison herds had retreated so far west into Saskatchewan that the Métis hunters began to build small cabins in sheltered valleys to spend the winter instead of making the long journey home (Burley et al. 1992; Waiser 2005). The Métis inhabiting these wintering camps became known as the hivernants and included winter locales at Fish Creek, Duck Lake, St. Laurent and Wood Mountain and locations further west in the Cypress Hills and southern Alberta (Kennedy 1997). Some of these wintering villages became permanent settlements, allowing the Métis to follow their traditional way of life through the establishment of the river lot system already disappearing in Manitoba (McLeod 1983; McQuillan 1980). By 1871, 70% of the Manitoba Métis had moved westward due to the unsatisfactory political conditions in the Red River region (Sprague 1988: 139) and networks of trails spread across the land, many leading to American posts (Waiser 2005).

With the Métis expansion moving west, the local native groups felt the added presence, as both groups attempted to hunt the same bison herds. In general, peaceful relations existed between the two groups, although as resources became more and more restricted strains in their relationships became apparent (Waiser 2005). This led to local native groups (Cree, Nakota and Ojibwa) holding grand council in the Touchwood Hills in 1866 to discuss the dilemma of Métis

encroachment on their hunting grounds (Friesen 1984:131). The last substantial bison herd in the west was located on Blackfoot territory, and as the Cree and Nakota were forced to hunt on the former's land, animosity amongst these groups also grew (Friesen 1984).

But pressure on the Métis was building from development outside of the plains as well. In 1867 the Dominion of Canada was formed, uniting four mainland British colonies: Canada East (Quebec), Canada West (Ontario), New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Canada's success, however, depended upon the union of British Columbia with the eastern provinces, between which lay Rupert's Land belonging to the HBC (Davenport and Rylance 1980). After several years of negotiations between the Company and the Canadian government, the territory of Rupert's Land was formally added to the Dominion of Canada in 1869 (Galbraith 1957).

During this process, the Métis peoples realized that their rights were being ignored by Canada and with the arrival of surveyors in the Red River area, their lands were quickly divided up into a square mile grid system. Fearing their original river lot system would be lost, the Métis threatened the surveyors with violence if they did not withdraw (Tway 1963). This led to the first Resistance and the seizure of Upper Fort Garry where the Métis established a provisional government on December 1, 1869. After this uprising, many Métis families moved westward where they could once again take up traditional ways of life along the South Saskatchewan River (Light 1987). Although the land had been transferred to Canada, a government presence in the west was still lacking and thus the country was open not only to Métis free traders but also to traders coming up from south of the international border.

3.3.5 Whiskey Traders

During the later part of the nineteenth century, hundreds of 'whiskey' posts were established throughout northern Montana and across the border into southern Alberta (Kennedy 1991). These posts were often rapidly built for short-term use whereby few losses would be incurred if they were burned or had to be abandoned quickly (Sharp 1955). A few, such as Fort Whoop-Up in southern Alberta, were large with stockades and numerous interior buildings. In return for alcohol and other goods, the traders received buffalo robes which, although profitable for the Americans since the 1840s, only became an increasingly lucrative market for the HBC in the 1870s (Ray 1990). During this time (1850s-1870s), the HBC found it difficult to compete with American traders in the northern plains, although they maintained some presence in the

region by obtaining bison meat and pemmican for the northern posts (Ray 1990). Numerous prospectors also entered the area from northern Montana and British Columbia, many of whom stayed on in the area hoping to capitalize on the bison resources by acting as free traders (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007). With new uses for buffalo hides being discovered (leather), the market demand increased thus increasing the value significantly (Sharp 1955). As a result many traders arrived on the southern Canadian plains in hopes of making their fortunes.

Within the fur trade outfits, alcohol had always been a staple item, often used to entice native groups away from the competition and to encourage trade (Innis 1970; Ray and Freeman 1978; Rich 1959). After the HBC amalgamation in 1821, the British parliament passed an act which placed restraints on this practice within the HBC, decreasing the amount of alcohol traded in most areas (but notably, not with the Blackfoot) (Innis 1970). The Canadian government passed another act in 1867 which made the sale of liquor to native people illegal (McLeod 1963; McQuillan 1980). On the American side, the Intercourse Act was passed in 1834 which prohibited the sale and importation of liquor into Indian Territory without a license from Indian Affairs (Sharp 1954). Despite these acts of parliament, alcohol smuggling became a common practice as there was little enforcement of these laws (Kennedy 1991; Loscombe 1986). In addition, the American traders took the Intercourse Act literally to mean that the trade of liquor was only banned from taking place on Indian lands and as such set up posts on the opposite shores bordering the reservations. In an attempt to escape the American law, many traders entered Canada where law enforcement was still absent and the buffalo were plentiful (Sharp 1955).

The first whiskey post located north of the international border was established by J.J. Healy and Alfred Hamilton in 1869 (Kennedy 1991). Situated at the junction of the Oldman and St. Mary's Rivers, this post, known as Fort Whoop-Up became the most famous in southern Alberta (Sharp 1955). The surrounding country was aptly named Whoop-Up country and the linking supply route to Fort Benton was known as the Whoop-Up trail (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007). A number of the whiskey traders in the region were backed by commercial businesses located at Fort Benton such as I.G. Baker & Co. and T.C. Power & Brother, while others got their supplies from Red River (mostly the Métis traders) (Kennedy 1997). Although alcohol was the main commodity on hand at the whiskey posts, the latest goods from America were also available. These items travelled by rail, steam and bull teams from Missouri and up the Whoop-Up trail, while buffalo robes exited much the same way by the tens of thousands (Kennedy 1991;

Sharpe 1955).

Prior to the 1870s, the HBC had had little success in establishing posts in southern Alberta. This was largely due to the dominance of the American traders in the area through their long-established relations with the Peigan and Kainai groups (Kennedy 2006). This forced any Blackfoot traders who wanted to do business with the HBC to travel north to the forts on the North Saskatchewan. Instead of incurring costs to build outposts in the area, the HBC sent out runners to the native camps in order to collect furs (Ray 1990). This system had already been used in the Swan River District; however, in general the HBC failed to experience great success on the plains. The American traders were highly profitable in the area and the HBC watched as the northern department lost profits to the south (Sharp 1955).

Within southern Alberta and southwestern Saskatchewan, the whiskey trade was having a deleterious effect on native groups and made their behavior unpredictable (Kennedy 1997). Although horse raiding was a long-standing practice among native groups, incidences of theft increased as horses were used in the trade of alcohol (Storer Collection Saskatchewan Archives [SCSA] 1885-1944). The Cypress Hills Massacre, occurring in May of 1873, was one such incident. A total of 12 Nakota people was murdered in their sleep by a gang of drunken American wolfers seeking revenge for a stolen horse (Goldring 1979; Waiser 2005). It was not until 1874, with the arrival of the North-West Mounted Police, that the HBC finally felt confident enough to establish posts in the region.

3.3.6 The End of the Fur Trade

By the mid to late nineteenth century it was the lure of the land that supplanted furs as a prime resource on the plains. Settlers and businessmen alike began to migrate west in search of fertile lands and business opportunities (Galbraith 1957; Rich 1959). As the Carlton Trail linking Red River and Fort Edmonton became increasingly frequented, provisioning posts such as Carlton House (est. 1810) and Fort Pitt (est. 1829) became important stops along the way. Battleford, too, became an important stopping point along this trail. With the arrival of the NWMP, government surveyors and officials began to establish in the west, preparing for large-scale agricultural settlement. In order for the HBC to survive the changing economy, it was forced to diversify into the general retail business whereby it could cater to the needs of the settlers. Numerous competitors had the same idea (as will be discussed later) and thus this era

was marked by increased competition and new retail innovations. In 1881 the Canadian Pacific Railway abandoned its Yellowhead route in favor of a more southerly one, crushing the dreams of many young communities such as Battleford (Waiser 2005). Despite claims of higher quality lands, there were also strategic business considerations involved in this change of route. In constructing the line as close as possible to the international border, the American competitors were cut off and the traffic in the north-west could be secured for Canada (Waiser 2006). Unfortunately for Battleford, these changes in the CPR route caused the town to be by-passed, leaving it isolated from direct contact with eastern Canadian markets.

3.3.7 Summary

The history of the fur trade began with native-directed trade as the Europeans were unfamiliar with the territory as well as with how to survive in it. Trade slowly expanded reaching new areas and groups with which to trade. With increasing competition, aggressive strategies were adopted and the native upper hand was slowly lost as posts were established inland. After years of fierce competition between the HBC and the NWC the two rival companies finally amalgamated, marking the start of a brief monopoly period. Soon American competition, as well as Métis free traders from Manitoba, became threats to the monopoly and a new era began to emerge as settlers came west looking for farmland. With the establishment of the NWMP and the arrival of government surveyors, the old ways of the traditional fur trade were rapidly disappearing. Native groups were pushed to settle on reserves and small Euro-Canadian communities began to emerge as the economy shifted to agriculture and settlement of the west.

3.4 Battleford in the late Nineteenth Century

Having described the general chronological changes of the fur trade industry in the west, it is now important to narrow in on the study area of Battleford, Saskatchewan. Although not heavily occupied by Europeans during the early trade, several wintering posts were established in the area by various firms. It was not until the 1870s that the region experienced a small growth in population, beginning with the arrival of government surveyors and officials looking to establish an agricultural community. With the arrival of the NWMP and the announcement that Battleford was to become the territorial capital, a surge of settlers and businessmen arrived hoping to capitalize on new opportunities. This economic shift away from the fur trade forced the small

HBC post in the region to relocate to town and accommodate the changing consumer needs of the settlers. Struggling with competition, the HBC store in Battleford was not as efficient in the general retailing business as in the earlier fur trading business. This next section describes the changes seen in the Battleford area over time, narrowing in on the HBC presence in the area and including a discussion of the North-West Resistance of 1885.

3.4.1 Development of Battleford

For centuries people have gathered at the place where the Battle River flows into the Saskatchewan River. Many native tribes (notably Cree and Blackfoot) utilized the river flats as a meeting place and early traders in the vicinity were quick to profit from the area's many natural advantages (Innis 1970; SCSA 1885-1944). The first trader to reach the plains area was Henry Kelsey, an employee of the HBC, who left York Factory in 1690 and reached the prairies the next summer (MacKay 1937; Morton Papers Saskatchewan Archives [MPSA] 1930; Wetton Papers Saskatchewan Archives 1987 1.b). Anthony Henday may have been the first European trader to traverse through the Battleford area, although exact dates and routes are difficult to identify (Belyea 2000; Innis 1970; MPSA 1930). William Holmes of the North West Company built the first post in the fall of 1785 along the Battle River, and after only weeks of his appearance there, independent rival traders from Montreal were camped a few hundred meters away attempting to secure his beaver trade (Wetton 1955). Holmes remained open for three winters, closing in 1788. Several years later in 1792, Peter Fidler surveyed the area and produced a map with no indication of any trading establishments remaining in the area (MPSA 1930). David Thompson also makes no mention of the post in his journal; however, it was vaguely marked on his map as "N.W.Co.", located south of the Battle River (MPSA 1930). Thus it is clear that all previous posts in operation along the Battle River were abandoned by the time Fidler came through the area.

Meanwhile William Tomison, head factor at Hudson House and Chief inland for the HBC, sent men beyond Battleford to build a post on Pine Island some 95 km up the Saskatchewan River (Rich 1959). By October of 1876 four separate trading agencies were operating at Pine Island (MacKay 1937). Aside from the small winter posts located briefly on the Battle River, the area remained free of European settlement until the 1870s.

Three main attributes of the Saskatchewan parklands are commonly cited in historical

works as reasons for further exploration of the area (McPherson 1967). First, the quick flowing rivers allowed for easy access. Second, the area was rich in furs; moreover the plentiful furs of the northern forest were easily attained from the Saskatchewan River which served as the point of departure. Thirdly, the parklands lay in close proximity to the buffalo herds on the plains. As traders continued to move inland it became increasingly expensive to transport food and trade goods, and thus it became necessary to secure locally available provisions (Innis 1970). Saskatchewan was blessed with all the essentials: easy river transportation, abundant fur reserves and a plentiful supply of food.

After the HBC amalgamation, posts in the area were closed and furs were taken to Fort Carlton or Edmonton, thus leaving the area relatively quiet (Galbraith 1957). It was not until 1868 that the HBC opened a small wintering station near the junction of the Battle and Saskatchewan rivers in the Saskatchewan District under the care of postmaster Peter Ballendine (Fig. 3.1) (Minutes of Council of the Northern Department HBCA B.239/k/3). Ballendine remained at this post for the following two winters (1869-70, 1870-71) and in 1870 his rank was listed as that of clerk. Not long afterwards, around 1871, the post was moved roughly 16 km down the Saskatchewan River, remaining on the north shore (Butler 1872). In April of 1874, Ballendine left the Company and bought out Joseph Tanner, a small independent trader. Two years later he had broken close to three hectares of land and moved there permanently, conducting trade with the native peoples (McPherson 1967).

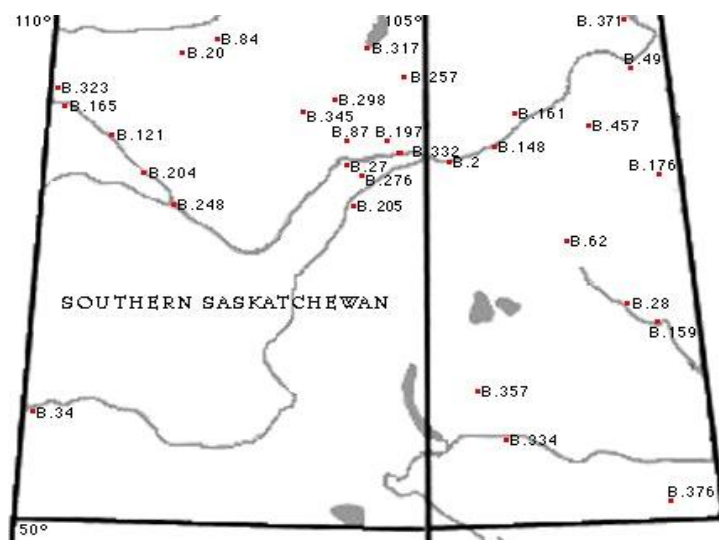


Figure 3.1 - Map of HBC Posts in South Half of Saskatchewan, ranging from late-1700s to mid-1900s (used with permission: HBCA Post Maps 2011), B.248 represents Battleford post.

In 1869 Canada acquired the land which was to become the NWT from the HBC and surveyors, police and government officials were sent inland to prepare for large-scale agricultural settlement (Galbraith 1957; Innis 1970; McPherson 1967; Rich 1959). Battle River became the centre of activity with a surveyor's camp arriving in 1874 under the supervision of telegraph contractor Richard Fuller (Wetton 1955). He chose the ford near the mouth of the Battle River as his headquarters and that area became locally known as Telegraph Flat (Fig. 3.2) (Stanley 1936). In the spring of 1876 the telegraph line was finished and on April 6, 1876 the first wire was sent. It reported that the bridge at the ford was completed at a cost of \$8,000 (McPherson 1967). Unfortunately, not long after its completion the bridge was washed away by the flood waters of the Battle River, after which Henry W. McKenney established a ferry service (Wetton 1955).

Soon after the establishment of the telegraph, Commissioner G.A. French of the North-West Mounted Police sent men to survey the area and reserve a site for a post before the best lands were taken up by squatters (McPherson 1967). French gave specific orders as to the location, size and types of attributes desired for the site, as it would potentially become the headquarters for the NWMP (French 1876). The NWMP at this time were given orders to stop the sale of liquor to native peoples and to help them in the adjustment to changes brought on by Euro-Canadian settlement. They were also given the task of arranging treaty negotiations with the native peoples of the Saskatchewan River country (McPherson 1967). Just prior to this, the Plains Cree Chief Poundmaker had travelled to the Blackfoot territory where he had wintered with Chief Crowfoot and negotiated peace between the two tribes. That same year, 1876, Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris of Winnipeg, along with his treaty commissioners, met with Cree, Blackfoot, Nakota and Saulteaux chiefs to settle upon specific demands, along with requests for relief during times of famine and epidemic and for financial assistance during spring seeding (Loscombe 1986; McPherson 1967; Wetton 1955). Treaty 6 was thus signed by native representatives Star Blanket, Mistawasis and Sweet Grass at Fort Carlton and Fort Pitt respectively (Wetton Papers Saskatchewan Archives 1987 1.c).

When the Canadian government proclaimed Battleford the capital of the NWT in 1876, land prices soared and construction boomed (Waiser 2005; Wetton 1955). The name was switched from Telegraph Flat to Battleford by the Canadian government and within the year, public works crews built a governor's mansion, residences for judiciary and civil officers,

barracks for the NWMP, and the HBC moved its Battle River post to a new location across the Saskatchewan River within the new community (McLennan 2005; McPherson 1967).



Figure 3.2 - South Battleford 1876 on Telegraph Flats and Mission Ridge, view to the southwest (used with permission: Saskatchewan Archives, accession #S-B118)

Overnight Battleford became an up-and-coming town, full of potential. Ballendine's small store was joined by several other trading outfits, with Richard Fuller's store situated next to the Telegraph Office being the largest (Loscombe 1986). The Hudson's Bay Company store and dwelling were built from pine lumber and shingles brought up on the Northcote from Fort Carlton (Fig 3.3). By the end of September, three substantial buildings were finished, along with a snake-rail fence at an estimated cost of \$335 (Letters from Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House, 27 September 1876 HBCA D.14/15). J. Mahoney of Mahoney and Campbell general merchants, also began construction on a building of unsquared timber in August and Johnston of Johnston and Fields opened a billiard saloon where tobacco and temperance drinks were sold (McPherson 1967). Kerr Stobart and Company of Duck Lake began work on a store-residence, 7 by 6 m. By May 1, 1876 all of the area between the Battle and Saskatchewan rivers was claimed,

as well as much of that on the south bank of the Battle River (McPherson 1967).

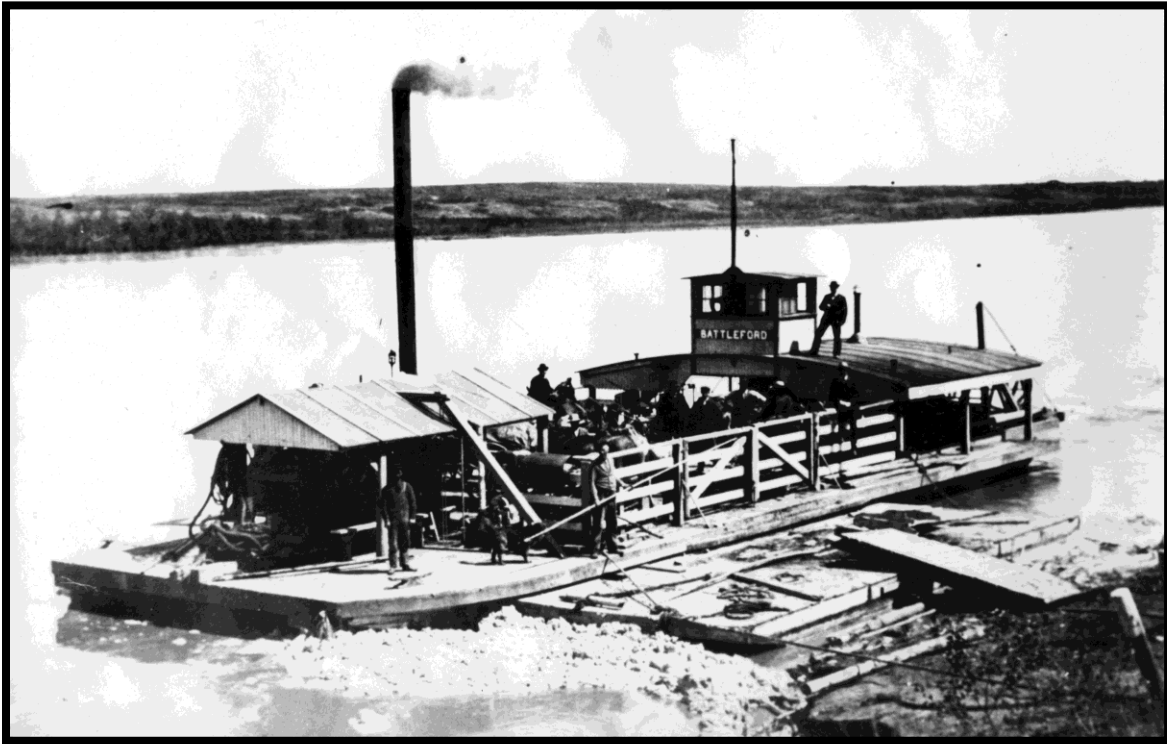


Figure 3.3 – Photograph of an HBC Steamship, Battleford, circa 1880s (used with permission: Saskatchewan Archives, accession # B84)

In the years following 1876, the economic basis of life in the North-West changed irreversibly from trade to agriculture and the social climate of Battleford shifted from construction camp to family-oriented community (McLennan 2005; McPherson 1967). The population increased by more than 3000 people, making Battleford the fastest growing settlement in the NWT (Waiser 2005). Native peoples were forced to settle on their reserves due to the influx of settlers wanting land and the disappearance of the bison herds. Their mainstay of life was quickly vanishing and with it went their source of food, clothing and shelter, forcing many into starvation (Tway 1963). In 1878 Red Pheasant selected a location for his reserve in the Eagle Hills south of Battleford and the following year Poundmaker chose the junction of the Battle and Cut Knife rivers for his reserve (Stonechild and Waiser 1997). Unfortunately Poundmaker experienced many difficulties, as he and his people had no previous experience in agriculture and the reserve land was not ideal for farming. Despite dedicated hard work, the crops failed, bringing on starvation for the people (Waiser 2005).

By the spring of 1879, large bands of starving native peoples were camped in Battleford (Loscombe 1986). Local authorities responded by employing them in cutting new approaches to the ford above the Battle River and in clearing a new road from the flat to the top of the hill south of town (McPherson 1967). The government did little to honour their treaty responsibilities, believing instead that the native peoples had been promised too much and that they could fend for themselves (Stonechild and Waiser 1997). However, with the quickly disappearing buffalo herds and failures in agriculture, starvation and disease quickly took hold. According to Lieutenant Governor Laird, the government had three choices: “to help the Indians to farm and raise stock, to feed them or to fight them” (Stonechild and Waiser 1997:34). Finally the government, in an attempt to avoid extreme expenditure to feed the native peoples, sent out farm instructors and distributed farm machinery and rations to the reserves (Waiser 2005; Wetton 1955). Unfortunately the problem was much larger than anticipated and the program was inadequate. The hired instructors had little sympathy or understanding for the native peoples and the changes they faced (Stonechild and Waiser 1997). Native leaders, such as Poundmaker, recognized the problems facing their people and encouraged them to become self-sufficient through farming and cattle raising (Waiser 2006; Wetton Papers Saskatchewan Archives 1987 1.c), while children were encouraged to go to school (McPherson 1967).

Despite the best efforts of many native peoples and their leaders to take on this new lifestyle, it was a painful transition (McPherson 1967). Dissent soon arose among the men on the reserves and a series of small crises became the norm during this period (Saskatchewan Herald [SH] 1881:1). In August of 1881, starvation forced Poundmaker’s band, along with 3000 Cree and Nakota peoples, to travel south nearly to the international border in search of big game (Waiser 2005). It was the first summer in history that the buffalo did not come north of the border and thus many hungry people gathered at Fort Walsh, the government’s main supply depot, seeking aid (McQuillan 1980). As all other food sources were depleted and crops had failed, the local native peoples were at the mercy of the Indian Affairs department (Stonechild and Waiser 1997). The government in turn used hunger in order to control the native populations and force them to work, withholding rations for those who did not comply (Loscombe 1986; Waiser 2006).

In addition to these treaty issues, the weather produced another major problem faced by the Battleford area residents (Loscombe 1986). Drought, hail, frost and grasshoppers all had a

continuous impact on the farmers and their crops (SH 1880:1). Transportation was another major block to the district's development, as many had settled there with the belief that the Canadian Pacific Railway would soon pass through Battleford (McPherson 1967). Thus in 1881, when the tracks were laid in the southern portion of the province, many were left greatly disappointed as it was a long cart-haul to the nearest point on the railway (Shillington 1985). The capital of the North-West Territories was moved south, to Pile O'Bones, situated along the railway in order to ease governmental administration (Stanley 1936). This was soon renamed Regina in honour of the Queen, and it officially became the capital on March 27, 1883. Government officials soon moved south and the Lieutenant-Governor's mansion was turned into an Indian Residential School (Fig. 3.4) (McPherson 1967). This shift in the capital had significant effects on the future of Battleford. The population dropped as the town was no longer the centre of frontier settlement despite remaining an important regional centre (Waiser 2005). Although the town remained dependent upon freighters and river men for connection to the outside world, the inhabitants nevertheless had great expectations regarding the amelioration of their current physical isolation (McPherson 1967).



Figure 3.4 - Battleford Industrial School, circa 1890s (used with permission: Saskatchewan Archives, accession # S-B70)

Also during this tumultuous time, an official survey of south Battleford was finally carried out after years of petitioning by the residents (Letters from Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House, 2 May, 16 June and 27 September HBCA D.14/15). The original work camp and government buildings were built on the flats on the south side of the Battle River and the Police barracks were built on the opposite side (McPherson 1967). The river flooded over its banks nearly every spring, wrecking both the bridge and the homes in the southern area (Letter from Clarke to Grahame dated Prince Albert, 4 July 1883 HBCA D.13/15). This was particularly devastating in the spring of 1882 when the Battle River ice came crashing into the Saskatchewan River ice creating a dam that flooded the flats and resulted in the formation of a lake (SH 1882:1). Over time, the residents of Battleford began to move their town to the high land between the rivers, close to the Police barracks. Alexander Macdonald, a local town merchant, owned land on the plateau near the Barracks which he had privately surveyed and made available for a townsite (Wetton 1955). Many residents quickly made the move under the conditions that a good house be built on the property within the year. Only two buildings still remain from this original survey - the St. Vital Church and the Speers home (McPherson 1967).

The government surveyor Cavana arrived shortly after Macdonald's property was done and surveyed the south side of the Battle River. Unfortunately many of the pre-existing buildings did not fit within the newly defined lot lines of the new survey and many land disputes resulted (McPherson 1967). The following summer R. C. Laurie extended the survey to the land between the rivers, which included the new townsite but yet again the newly surveyed streets and avenues did not line up with the old (Macdonald 1883). Land agent William Pearce soon arrived to settle the dispute claims, both in the farming community and in the townsite (McPherson 1967).

This relocation of Battleford was not a smooth procedure, and disputes arose concerning the community hall and school house in March of 1884 (SH 1884:1). The inhabitants who had made the transition were anxious to move these buildings while those peoples remaining on the flats wanted to retain them (Wetton 1955). In the midst of the dispute the small school building was quietly auctioned off by the trustees and bought by the Hudson's Bay Company (McPherson 1967). Interestingly these early small scale disputes parallel the later attempts to move old Battleford to the north side of the Saskatchewan River in 1905 (Loscombe 1986).

3.4.2 The North-West Resistance

During the early 1880s nearly everyone inhabiting the NWT had grievances with the Canadian government (Waiser 2006). The native groups had signed treaties compensating them for giving up claim to the whole territory, while they moved to reserves and took up agriculture. After failed attempts at farming, and the loss of their traditional ways of life, the native peoples became dissatisfied with the Government's lack of responsibility towards their destitute situation (Sprague 1988). Infectious diseases soon set in and the native bands already weakened by starvation experienced increased mortality rates (Stonechild and Waiser 1997). Despite these desperate conditions, the native people vowed peace and loyalty to the Queen throughout the turmoil of 1885 (Waiser 2005).

The Métis, the majority of whom had moved west frustrated with unsatisfactory conditions in Red River, saw the influx of European and eastern Canadian settlers as a threat to their traditional way of life (Burley et al. 1992). Both the Métis and the white settlers had experienced a series of bad harvests and when the railway bypassed the northern route, they lost a vital transportation link to the east (Waiser 2005). The white settlers were also angry as they felt the Government was operating the west only to benefit the eastern businesses at the expense of the local interests. Despite petitions and various political tactics, the Government remained distant and uninterested in their pleas (Waiser 2006).

In Red River in May of 1884, various Métis and Euro-Canadian groups collectively sought out exiled Louis Riel's assistance to act as political advisor and leader representing their various grievances (Sprague 1988; Waiser 2006). Agreeing, Riel returned from Montana and sent a petition to the Secretary of State outlining the grievances in the Saskatchewan country. Specifically, the Métis sought compensation for the loss of their aboriginal title and recognition of their river lot land holdings before the area filled up with development (Waiser 2005). Riel, however, was a changed man since the Red River days and declared himself "God's personal emissary, whose mission was to create a homeland in the North-West for the Métis, Indians and other oppressed people of the world in preparation for the day of judgment" (Waiser 2005:57-58). Riel sought a native-Métis alliance to successfully carry out his goals.

Despite the native population's desperate situation, they did not wish to break their vow of peace made during treaty negotiations. They also considered the Métis direct competitors in the hunt for buffalo. Thus the native bands refused to make an alliance with the Métis, instead opting for a more "diplomatic offensive to force the government to honour its promises by

peaceful means” (Waiser 2006:273). Historic accounts of the North-West Resistance often misrepresent this relationship, assuming both groups worked co-operatively. Although both had grievances with the government, they were different in both interest and concern. This all aided in confining the uprising to the North Saskatchewan district (McPherson 1967).

Despite agreements from Prime Minister John A. Macdonald to review and settle the Métis claims in Manitoba and the NWT, the Métis peoples were dissatisfied. In March 1885, the Métis seized St. Anthony’s Church, cut the telegraph line at Clark’s Crossing and created a Provisional Government of Saskatchewan (Beal and Macleod 2010). Due to Riel’s forceful behaviour, he lost the support of the white settlers (Stonechild and Waiser 1997). A few days later on March 22, 1885, they demanded that the NWMP give up Fort Carlton which forced the Winnipeg militia to remain in a state of readiness, commanded by Major-General Frederick Dobson Middleton. Then, at Duck Lake, an unplanned attack under Gabriel Dumont on the police forced the waiting troops to mobilize. On March 27, 1885 the NWMP at Carlton abandoned the Fort and retreated to Prince Albert. Meanwhile news of Duck Lake had reached eastern Canada and caused the Federal Government to raise a Canadian Militia Force, which within two weeks was underway to the Territories (Beal and Macleod 2010).

Battleford was the next obvious target for Riel and his men as it was the largest settlement between Prince Albert and Edmonton and it served as the divisional headquarters for nearly 1/5th of the NWMP, as well as the agency headquarters for the nine surrounding native reserves (Waiser 2005). Riel believed if he controlled Battleford he could get the local native bands to join forces with him against the Canadian government.

Contrary to Riel’s hopes, Poundmaker and the local native bands had no intention of joining the Métis; however, they did believe the troubles at Duck Lake had opened an opportunity for them to confirm their loyalties to the Queen (Stonechild and Waiser 1997). They thought a trip to Battleford at this key moment would result in increased ration rewards (Waiser 2005). To ensure their plea for aid was not misunderstood, a messenger was sent ahead to alert the Battleford authorities of their plans. In addition to Poundmaker and several additional band leaders, many other members joined the party in order to conduct a begging dance (often done for local merchants in exchange for food), resulting in a 60 person travelling party (Waiser 2005).

Meanwhile the residents seeking refuge in Fort Battleford had been anticipating trouble

over the past week, especially after the news of Duck Lake had reached the Fort. Rumours spread of local native bands assembling at Poundmaker's reserve and based on false speculations and assumptions, the residents feared a devastating attack. Unfortunately the messenger sent ahead by Poundmaker was not taken seriously by William McKay of the HBC and thus news of their intentions did not reach the Fort (Waiser 2005). John Rae, a local Indian agent in the Battleford stockade sent a telegraph to Dewdney in Regina stating "Poundmaker and Little Pine band all camped within 8 miles of here tonight and are all armed in war paint" (Waiser 2005:91-92).

When the native group reached the Indian office in Battleford on Monday, March 30, 1885, they found the town abandoned (Light 1987). McKay and Ballendine volunteered to meet the Cree leaders across the river while Rae, distrusting, stayed behind in the Fort. The meeting was peaceful and true to his plan, Poundmaker asked that a message be sent to Rae asking for supplies and confirming Cree allegiance to the Queen (Waiser 2005). Ballendine misunderstood the paint and arms on the native leaders and in his message he warned Rae not to cross the river as the situation was hostile (Light 1987). During this time, the cook at the Industrial School fed the native group until the supplies ran out, while McKay distributed tobacco and food from the HBC store (Light 1987; Waiser 2005). Both actions were done without incident or hostility.

By late afternoon, the native group was getting frustrated and Rae finally left the Fort with supplies. What happened next is unclear; however, for some reason Rae quickly turned around and fled to the Fort (Sprague 1988). Two general explanations exist for this event; either Rae was fired upon by Métis men on the other side of the river (supported by telegram and notes in the police daily journal) or according to McKay, a Métis woman came down the hill shouting the native leaders were going to kill him (Waiser 2005:93). Either way it appears as though Riel's men wanted to sabotage Poundmaker's mission as it was in their best interest that it fail. Disappointed in everyone's distrust, the native peoples were tired, hungry and frustrated by nightfall.

Meanwhile, Métis messengers had arrived at Red Pheasant's reserve for recruitment; however, they were flatly refused. Arriving at the nearby Nakota reserve they were once again refused; however, their presence stirred up a number of disgruntled men. One of Mosquito's men (Itka) used this opportunity to settle a personal dispute with James Payne, the resident farm instructor (Light 1987; Sprague 1988). Payne was shot dead in revenge for the murder of Itka's

daughter earlier that year (Waiser 2005). Itka's actions had nothing to do with the Métis uprising; however, they motivated several of the younger men to fight instead of surrender to the Canadian government. Poundmaker quickly realized Payne's death was jeopardizing their mission in Battleford and he started to lose control of his frustrated men, as well as any trust remaining with the Indian agent Rae. Defeated and hungry, numerous native men and women ran from building to building taking what food and supplies they could find (Stonechild and Waiser 1997). Despite Poundmaker's objections, more and more members joined in the raid, resulting in broken windows, destroyed furniture and various personal items littering the streets.

According to post journals, no buildings were burnt that night and only minimal damage was done. This was not a premeditated act and it was short-lived; however, to the residents in the Fort it confirmed their suspicions of the Cree (Waiser 2005). Unfortunately another act of revenge occurred the next morning, when Barney Tremont, a local rancher, was murdered by five Nakotas on their way to Battleford (Light 1987). Tremont was a well known "Indian hater" and when the party stopped to ask for food and supplies, he refused their requests (Stonechild and Waiser 1997). Offended and frustrated, the native men took the opportunity for revenge and shot him.

Locked in Fort Battleford, the residents heard little other than that two white men had been killed. By this time, Poundmaker and his men had returned to their reserve, fearing the police would be after them for stealing (Light 1987). Both Red Pheasant and Little Pine died of poor health along the way. Over the next number of days no attack was made on the Fort, as the native people were concerned with securing food for the growing number of people appearing on their reserve (Stonechild and Waiser 1997). In early April some of the Battleford residents left the fort to gather supplies from the abandoned houses and stores, returning with flour, dried fruit, canned goods, bacon and large quantities of tea and tobacco (Loscombe 1986). While there, they encountered competition for goods as numerous Métis were exploiting the situation. In fact the day after the initial looting, Ballendine was shot at by Métis men in an attempt to increase the tension between the native peoples and the Battleford residents (Waiser 2005). Thus the continued looting and ransacking of the town, was done primarily by the Métis and not the Cree who had initiated it.

On April 3, 1885 two Métis men, Joseph Nolin Sr. and Joseph Vandal, of Duck Lake

were caught plundering the HBC store (Waiser 2005). The following day a 50 cart brigade of Métis was seen in town, emptying the buildings of whatever remaining supplies they could find. They also set fire to Mahaffy & Clinkskill's store, along with the Indian School's stables (Sprague 1988). By this time several native peoples could also be seen in town and the surrounding hills, convincing the Battleford residents that all the surrounding reserves had joined forces with Riel. They did not realize that their assumptions were based on Métis fear tactics and not a collaborative attack on Battleford.

The infamous Frog Lake Massacre occurred on April 2, 1885 when local Crees led by Ayimisis and Kapapamahchakwew (Wandering Spirit), killed Indian Agent Quinn and eight other Euro-Canadians (Stonechild and Waiser 1997). Although often interpreted as an act of unprovoked violence, a recent report indicates the events which led up to it were to blame (Sprague 1988:73). Indian agent Quinn was known for withholding food supplies which frustrated the people as the bison were gone, preventing them from obtaining fresh meat. As the conditions continued to deteriorate and requests for food were turned down, young members of Big Bear's band captured Quinn and several other men demanding food. With the final refusal given, the captives were shot and the remaining town's people were held prisoner (Sprague 1988). The next day Big Bear arrived and apologized for losing control of his men (Stonechild and Waiser 1997). Thus the killings were not random but instead targeted attempts at ending the starvation faced by the frustrated Cree groups. According to an elder, "it was hunger which brought about anger to the plainsmen...their children were crying for food...they were hungry and the Indian Agent refused to give food" (Stonechild and Waiser 1997:114).

Two weeks after the Frog Lake killings, members of the same Cree band took control of Fort Pitt. Big Bear, in an attempt to avoid bloodshed, encouraged the police to surrender, vowing to let them slip away to Battleford (Sprague 1988; Stonechild and Waiser 1997). With the arrival of the fleeing police at Battleford (Fig. 3.5), tensions increased once more in town. On April 23rd, the Hudson's Bay Company store was lit on fire and burned to the ground in a final act of defiance by the Métis and a few Stoney allies (Sprague 1988; Stonechild and Waiser 1997). Lieutenant-Colonel William Otter and his troops arrived at Fort Battleford soon after and set up camp across the river near the Lieutenant Governor's house. Upon inspecting the remains of the town he reported:

“On this side of the river there were originally some dozen houses and two or three stores forming what is called the Old Town. Four or five of these houses have been burned, the others dismantled and pillaged, and the stores completely gutted. Scarcely anything has escaped: what could not be taken was destroyed. About us we see scattered in dismal confusion feathers, photos, books, tins, furniture and desolation reigns supreme” [Sprague 1988:75].

Having secured the old town, residents were encouraged to return to their pillaged homes. By then the native bands in the Battleford area had moved off and were camped at Cut Knife Hill fearing an attack themselves in retaliation, for the earlier murders and looting incident (Stonechild and Waiser 1997). Despite warnings from Middleton, Colonel Otter was eager to settle matters with the Cree and a surprise attack on Poundmaker’s camp at Cut Knife was attempted. However, unable to out-manuever the Cree, Otter was forced to retreat. The native people, showing restraint, left the retreating men alone which resulted in a much lower death count (Sprague 1988). Meanwhile far to the east, Métis leader Gabriel Dumont made a surprise attack on Middleton and his men at Fish Creek who were on their way to Batoche to meet Riel.

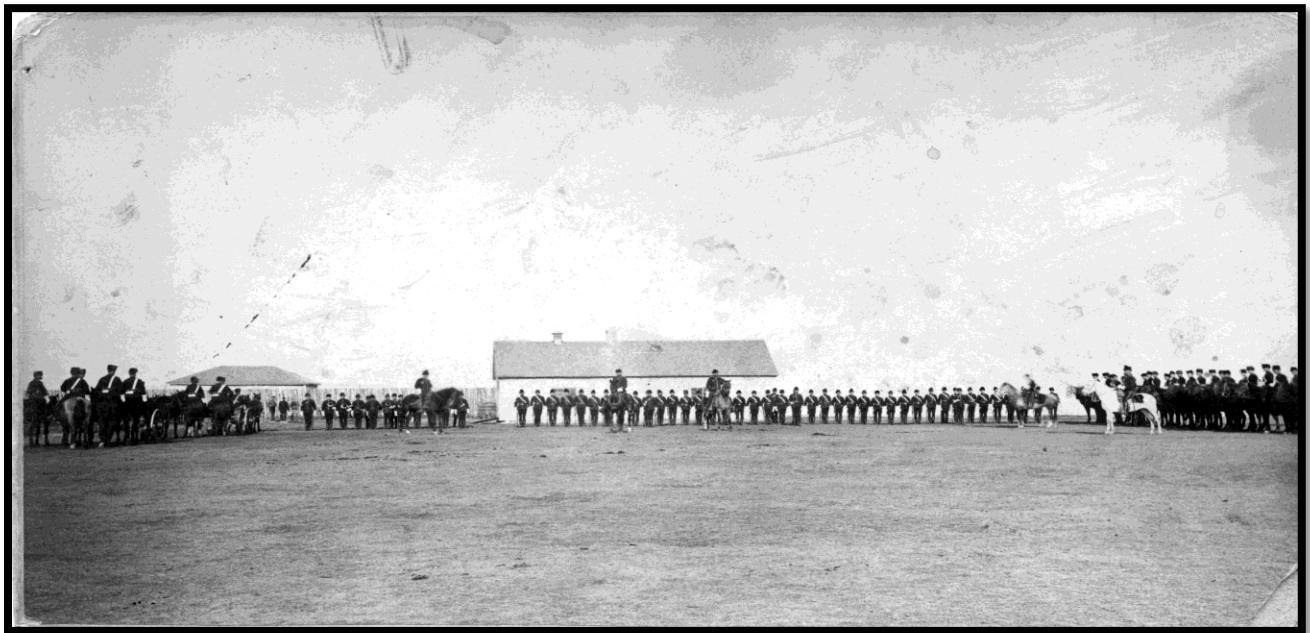


Figure 3.5 - North-West Mounted Police at Battleford 1885 (used with permission: Saskatchewan Archives accession #S-B131)

Finally, the battle of Batoche began on May 9, 1885. After three days of fighting, Middleton defeated the Métis and three days later on May 15, 1885 Louis Riel surrendered and was transported to Regina for his trial on July 6, 1885 (Beal and Macleod 2010). Several other surrenders occurred, including that of Poundmaker at Fort Battleford. Poundmaker was later tried for treason-felony and found guilty, sentenced to three years of imprisonment (Sprague 1988). Riel, after a series of appeals, was sentenced with the death penalty and hanged in Regina on November 16, 1885. The men who were responsible for killing Payne and the Frog Lake Massacre were tried, found guilty of murder and sentenced to hang. On November 27, 1885 eight men were hanged at Fort Battleford for these murders, making it the largest mass hanging in Canadian history (Waiser 2005).

3.4.3 Summary

Battleford became a booming hub in the 1870s as the Territorial capital and stopping point along the Carlton trail. Residents eagerly built houses, stores and businesses only to find their up-and-coming town by-passed by the railway. Harsh weather conditions produced yearly spring floods, often forcing residents to seek higher ground and numerous seasons of failed crops caused much hunger and famine, especially among the native people on reserves. Frustrated bands peacefully urged the government to honour their treaty responsibilities, while the Métis sought contrasting methods for rectifying their grievances. Although both groups desired responses from the government, they did not act in unison. The residents of Battleford, who were unaware of the circumstances outside the Fort walls, believed their town under “siege” by native and Métis groups during the 1885 Resistance. During the “siege” the town of Battleford was looted, ransacked and burned to the ground, resulting in the archaeological formation of the FeOb-2 site examined in this thesis. The following chapter summarizes the historic documents located in the Winnipeg Hudson’s Bay Company archives regarding the Battleford HBC post at this time.

Chapter 4

History of the Battleford HBC Post

4.1 Introduction

This chapter concentrates specifically on the HBC and their presence in Battleford from 1868 to 1885. One of the primary goals of this thesis is to determine the HBC's attempts at adapting to the changing economic environment of the time. Hence it is important to understand how the HBC was responding to the developing retail competition in Battleford. Any changes made to their business or marketing plans would have been in direct response to the shifting economy and thus aids in identifying how successful they were in dealing with these new circumstances.

The discussion begins with a summary of the primary documents obtained from the HBC Archives in Winnipeg which relate specifically to the Battleford post. The reports represent a general timeline of events as recorded by the various HBC employees and offer the men's perceptions on the operations in Battleford. As the documents were written by Euro-Canadians for the HBC they reflect a single perspective on the time period and do not include alternative cultural insights. Nevertheless, it is important to know the company's perspective as it helps to understand motivations behind the changes made to their business plan. The documents follow in chronological order, from the first outpost established in 1868 to the store which finally closed in 1910. The focus then narrows in on the transition period between fur trading and large scale retailing, examining recommendations put forth by HBC employee Graham regarding prospective business ventures. These provide insight into areas of weakness within the Company as well as into their responses to the new economic environment.

4.2 Summary of Documents from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives

The very first reference in the Hudson's Bay Company archives to a 19th century trading post in the Battleford area dates to 1868 when postmaster Peter Ballendine was appointed to a

small wintering station in the Saskatchewan District. This was recorded in the Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land which was held at Norway House in June of that same year (Minutes of Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land HBCA B.239/k/3). Ballendine remained at this post for the following two winters (1869-70, 1870-71) and in 1870 his rank was listed as that of clerk. In 1879, in a letter by Chief Factor Lawrence Clarke, the Battle River post was listed as occupying two acres of land, with 'not present place' having been added to this, indicating that the post at this time was no longer in the same location (Letter from Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House 24 September 1879 HBCA D.14/21). The small Battleford post functioned as a winter outpost of Carlton House and thus secured furs from the local native populations, most notably the Cree and Nakota groups. Also, as the Carlton Trail developed, connecting Red River to Fort Edmonton in the North-West Territories, Battleford along with Fort Carlton and Fort Pitt served as important stopping points along the way.

In November 1870, Lieutenant Butler of the 69th Regiment (entrusted with a mission to report on the fur trade, native peoples and any need for troops in the west), travelled along the North Saskatchewan River, stopped at the Battle River post and gave the following description:

“... a small wintering-station had been established by the Hudson Bay Company at a point some ninety miles distant from Carlton, some distance above the confluence of the Battle River with the Saskatchewan. There it was said a large camp of Crees had assembled...” [Butler 1872:236-245].

In 1872, W.S. Gore, Dominion Deputy Surveyor, wrote in his survey diary that he had arrived from Carlton House at the Company's 'new trading post' on the 18th of November. The next day he moved 16 km west to the site of the old Battle River Post, completing his survey on November 22, 1872. In his report he wrote the following regarding the Company's reserve of Battle River:

“The Reserve of 3000 acres is on the North side of and fronts on the North Saskatchewan River and is about 5 miles above the mouth of the Battle River which flows into the Saskatchewan River from the South West. Rolling prairie with a narrow belt of Poplar timber skirting the bank of the River, soil sandy loam class no. 2. The Co's buildings have been burnt down. The River at this point is very broad and has numerous

sand bars and islands” [Deputy Surveyor W.S. Gore Report on Survey for HBC dated Fort Garry 20 November 1872 HBCA A.72/7, fos. 9d, 10, 45].

According to some of Celia Wetton’s research (local historian and author) it was rumored that “the first HBC post was located on the north side of the Battle River. The officer in charge insulted the wife of a chief, who for revenge burnt the buildings” (Wetton Papers Saskatchewan Archives 1987:1b). This has not been confirmed in other sources.

Although no other information is given by Gore regarding the new trading post at Battle River, the fact that he mentions crossing the river only once, from Carlton House, appears to place this new post also on the north bank of the Saskatchewan River, just west from the old one. Thus sometime between Butler’s arrival in 1870 and Gore’s in 1872, the original Battle River Post was moved to the new location.

In 1873 the HBC reorganized its administrative structure in Rupert’s Land. The Saskatchewan District was divided and Battle River became part of the Lower Saskatchewan Sub-District with the headquarters being located at Carlton House (Mackay 1937). On June 24, 1874 Factor Lawrence Clarke reported on the 1873 outfit of trade for the Lower Saskatchewan District and indicated that Battle River, a winter outpost of Carlton House, had failed to make any significant trade due to the complete lack of buffalo in the area (Letter from Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House, Lower Saskatchewan District, 24 June 1874 HBCA B.27/e/5). (An outfit ran from the 1st of June to the following 31st of May.) During the 1874 outfit, letters from Clarke to Chief Commissioner Grahame once again indicated an absence of buffalo in the area and consequently Clarke established a “cordon of our own people for the winter in the plains between that section of country where the buffalo are said to be and us” (Letter from Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House 4 May 1875 HBCA B.239/k/4, fo.13). Clarke established the following in 1875:

“W. McKay, Moose Woods. Peter Ballendine, Battle River. Jas Simpson, Tramping Lake, and D. Villebraine at the Nose; besides I have outfitted a number of men who are wintering amongst the Indians: Thus keeping all the opposition within a circle of ninety miles of us, beyond this they cannot go, for the plains are all burnt up and there is no feed for their

horses” [Letter from Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House, 20 January 1875 HBCA B.27/e/8].

During this early settlement period prairie fires were common on the plains, often disrupting subsistence patterns. In a letter dated 26 June 1875, Clarke indicated that the outfit’s trade at Battle River was a loss “beyond all bounds” and thus Peter Ballendine’s request to leave the Company had been complied with in the spring (Letter from Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House 26 June 1875 HBCA B.332/e/2 fos. 3-6). Daniel Villebraine, an interpreter, was appointed to the Battle River for the outfits 1875 and 1876 at a meeting of Commissioned Officers held at Carlton House in July in 1875 (Minutes of the meeting of Commissioned Officers dated Carlton House, 6 July 1875 HBCA B.239/k/4 fo.1).

Upon learning that the seat of Government for the North-West Territories had been established on Battle River, Lawrence Clarke wrote a letter to Grahame on May 2nd, 1876, indicating that he had:

“A good claim 10 chains frontage and half a mile Back directly alongside the Bridge at Battle River & connecting on the side with the Telegraph Company Claim and on the other by the Government Reserve”

“Half Breed Hunters who will resort there by reason of its nearness to the Buffalo country, and the certainty of its being a good market for Furs and other country produce. The Custom trade of the Government Officials, Mounted Police, Missionaries, Settlers and others will also cause a considerable circulation of money and make it a good Trade center, and we should lose as little time as possible in establishing a good shop there”[Letter from Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House, 2 May 1876 HBCA D.14/15].

Furthermore on June 16, 1876, Clarke indicated that by that date, he had sent pine lumber and shingles up on the Company’s steamer, Northcote, to the future store site from Carlton. Harry Weston was hired for the construction of three buildings and a snake rail fence. The Company at this time had managed to secure all the outside custom trade of the Board of Works and Telegraph Company. Simultaneously, the Government had 30 men similarly employed in construction and Kew, Stobart and Company were also building (Letter from Clarke to Grahame

dated Carlton House, 16 June 1876 HBCA D.14/15). By September 27th, 1876, Clarke reported that: “A very neat shop has been completed entirely, & the Frame of a small dwelling house put up –the total construction of which (both dwellings) will not exceed \$250” (Letter from Clarke to Grahame dated 27 September 1876 HBCA D.14/15).

Upon completion, the new HBC post (the focus of this thesis) consisted of three buildings and a fence. The building to the west was 20 feet by 18 feet (6m x 5.5m), while the main building was 30 feet by 19 feet (9m x 5.8m) and the building to the east was 18 feet by 18 feet (5.5m x 5.5m) (Letter from Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House, 20 December 1876 HBCA B.239/k/4, fo 21). They were all built of square timber, costing \$90, \$130, and \$90 respectively. The fence cost an additional \$45 and enclosed a piece of land behind the buildings in a six rail snake type design. The total cost of the complex came to \$355, \$105 over budget (Letter from Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House, 20 December 1876 HBCA B.239/k/4, fo 21).

During the outfit 1876, Clarke in a letter to Grahame dated December 20th, 1876, wrote:

“As it has now been officially notified that Battle River, or rather Battleford is to be the seat of Government fix [sic] the North West Territories, sundry shop keepers from Winnipeg and elsewhere have established themselves there and are doing this winter a profitable business” [Letter Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House, 20 December 1876 HBCA B.239/k/4, fo.22].

From 1877 onwards, the name Battleford appears in the minutes of the annual meetings of the Commissioned Officers.

Philip Taite, clerk, was appointed charge of Battleford in 1877 and reportedly had fierce competition with which to contend (Letter from Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House, 15 December 1877 HBCA D.14/17). Auguste H. Bastien was appointed postmaster in charge for outfit 1878 and was succeeded by clerk William J. McKay in 1879. It was reported on June 30th, 1880 by Lawrence Clarke that McKay managed it excellently and returns in both cash and furs were triple any previous year (Letter from Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House, 30 June 1880 HBCA B.239/k/4, fos. 41d, 57d). Business continued under McKay, who on June 1st 1884, was promoted to Junior Chief Trader. F. Stanley Simpson, clerk, was appointed as his assistant for outfit 1882, and John E. Stewart, clerk, was appointed for the following outfit, 1883 (Letters Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House, 3 June 1884 HBCA B.239/k/5).

Battleford continued to grow in size which contributed to an increase in the HBC store's business. Clarke wrote the Chief Commissioner, seeking permission to build new accommodations at Battleford as several difficulties were being encountered at the current location (Letter from Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House, 3 August 1883 HBCA D.14/31). For example, space was limited for conducting trade and displaying the available goods. Furthermore, on July 4th 1883 Clarke wrote of frequent flooding at the HBC store, supporting the need to re-locate across the river to the new townsite:

“At Battleford the flat on which our shop and storehouses are situated, for the last three years has been flooded and as Buffalo Lake is said to have broken its boundaries, and now flows into Battle River, a like result may be expected annually. For the last three years before the breaking up of the ice, we have been obliged to remove our goods to the shelter of the Government buildings on the hill, overlooking the valley of the river. Six feet of water ran through the buildings this last spring causing much injury to the building and some loss from the stoppage of trade. The Government has indicated its intention to have the Prairie upon which the Police buildings stand, surveyed into a town site, it would be well to secure a block on this survey, which may now be had for a trifle, and the new building be built thereon” [Letter from Clarke to Grahame dated Carlton House, 4 July 1883 HBCA D.13/15].

This proposal was signed and approved on November 26, 1883, with an estimated cost of \$1,487.00 to construct the new store (Letter Clarke to Grahame dated Prince Albert 26 November 1883 HBCA D.14/31). In April of 1884 Clarke informed Grahame that he had just come from Battleford where he had located a site for the new store and had arranged with a contractor to have it built as soon as possible. Nonetheless, it appears as though construction had not commenced as of December of that year (Letter from Oliver to Clarke dated Battleford 18 December 1884 HBCA B.332/c/1). There is, however, a memorandum of agreement in the Company's records, dated Battleford, 20 October 1885, between William McKay acting for the Hudson's Bay Company and John Grieve Oliver, mill owner of Ogemah, North-West Territories, which stated that Oliver had agreed to erect a building for the HBC (Memorandum of agreement between McKay and Oliver dated 20 October 1885 HBCA B.248/z/1). The new store had yet to be constructed when the North-West Resistance broke out in the spring of 1885.

At the time of the Resistance in 1885, William McKay, Junior Chief Trader, was in charge of business in Battleford, still located in the old Battleford townsite. He signed a declaration on September 7, 1885 “In the Matter of the claim of the Hudson’s Bay Company, The North West Territories to Wit: Battleford” and declared that in March and April 1885:

“The premises occupied by the Company consisted for four log buildings on the Flat used as warehouses and of a store and warehouse on the slope of the hill, and about a quarter of a mile distant from the warehouses. These two buildings did not belong to the Company but were rented by them.

...On the night of the 22nd of April two of the Company’s warehouses on the Flat were burnt to the ground. Both the buildings were built of logs and were one storey high with shingled roofs. Their dimensions were thirty four feet by eighteen feet and nineteen feet by seventeen feet” [Declaration of William McKay dated 7 September 1885, HBCA E.9/2, fos. 200, 203].

When Trade Commissioner Joseph Wrigley visited the Saskatchewan District after the troubles, he reported from Winnipeg on September 14, 1885 to the Company’s Secretary of London, that Battleford’s new store seemed in excellent physical position within the re-located townsite. “The town will probably increase especially if the Railway be brought there from the Canadian Pacific Railway main line. The Company’s old store across the river was raided and burnt” (Letter from Wrigley to William Armit HBC Secretary of London dated Winnipeg, 14 September 1885 HBCA D.18/11, fo. 244). However, on October 8, 1888, Lawrence Clarke, Chief Factor in charge of the Saskatchewan District at Prince Albert, reported to Wrigley that the trade at Battleford post was on the decline. Although Battleford had been an important post during the time when all freight went overland from Winnipeg to Edmonton, the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the south had adverse effects on this as Battleford was bypassed. Moreover, the seat of Government for the NWT had been removed to Regina, resulting in fewer government contracts to be filled (Stanley 1936). The North-West Resistance had also taken its toll on the town, bankrupting some of the residents and thus leaving their claims unpaid to the Company. Additionally the aboriginal treaty money had been cut down, and thus the Company felt the loss of this trade. Clarke further described the opposition in Battleford as some of the keenest in the country. For example competitors included:

“A. Macdonald & Co. and Mahaffy and Clinkskill, all shrewd businessmen with extensive well assorted and modern stocks, running their establishments on latest business principles, by general banking, special orders from Winnipeg, backing their customers for contracts, Xmas presents to their customers etc... Any Special orders we send Winnipeg produce made and profit for the Post, none for Battleford. The merchants receive their goods overland whenever they require them and do not experience the loss and delay by trusting the steamers. They also watch the eastern markets and buy when staples are low, and do not purchase once a year, whatever the prices are, as our annual system of requirement calls for” [Letter from Clarke to Wrigley dated Prince Albert, 8 October 1888 HBCA B.332/e/2, fos.3-6].

Clarke also complained of the poor reliability of the Company’s transportation system which was provided by river steamer. Year after year, the Battleford HBC store had to assume large quantities of rejected goods such as flour, bacon, apples and coffee. As it was a small community, all knew of the Company’s rejected goods and naturally feared buying from them. In the event that goods did not arrive on time, (in many cases they were months late), the HBC store management found it necessary to supply customers from the trade stock and this resulted in the complete depletion of stock. Yet when replacement retail stock finally arrived, needs had already been satisfied which left the store in the unenviable position of being overstocked. Clarke complained “the trouble we have had with rejected goods is very great...” (Letter from Clarke to Wrigley dated Prince Albert, 8 October 1888 HBCA B.332/e/2, fos. 4-6).

During October, 1888 the Battleford post was inspected by Richard Hardisty and E.K. Beeston, and their report reflected Clarke’s observations. The fur trade was experiencing great competition from private commercial enterprises, with considerable amounts of cash being paid for furs by them. To the south of Battleford, the fur-bearing animals were all but gone; however, to the north there was no noticeable difference, apart from the usual fluctuations (Inspection Report by Hardisty and Beeston dated Battleford, 1 October 1888 HBCA B.235/e/23b, fo. 275). Thus the fur trade continued to operate in fine furs from the north; however, with the demise of the bison, the robes formerly collected in the south were no longer available for trade. Hardisty and Beeston, similar to Clarke, noted that the competition in town was keen, and both A.

Macdonald & Co. and Mahaffy & Clinkskill carried heavier quality and better assorted stocks than the Company. Additionally the competitors gave credit and made the Police payments thus securing considerable trade (Inspection Report by Hardisty and Beeston dated Battleford, 1 October 1888 HBCA B.235/e/23b, fo 280).

J. McKay, Junior Chief Trader along with his clerks, Joseph B. Parker and John E. Stewart operated the Battleford post at this time (1888). The post buildings were now located on the new site in the Government town of Battleford, and were on lots 8,9, and 10, south side of 21st street and on 8,9, and 10 north side of 20th, west of Central Avenue. They were comprised of a two storey frame and plastered store built in 1885 after the Resistance troubles, measuring fifty feet by twenty feet (roughly 15m x 6m). In addition, two warehouses and a stable were also on the premises. One of the warehouses, which was used to store coal and oil, and the stables had been moved from the old site across the river (where the store had burned down) and were reportedly made of log and still in sufficiently good condition in 1888. The other warehouse was a single storey, single frame building measuring seventy-five feet by twenty-five feet (23m x 7.6m) (Inspection Report by Hardisty and Beeston dated Battleford, 1 October 1888 HBCA B.235/e/23b fos. 272, 279).

In their 1888 report, Hardisty and Beeston also commented that the Indians appeared poorly off, local trade was very limited and that the town appeared to be dying off. It was reported that there was fairly good country for both farming and ranching; however, at present (1888) there was no outlet for the produce. The only source of revenue was the Government, through the Indian and Police Departments (Inspection Report by Hardisty and Beeston dated Battleford, 1 October 1888 HBCA B.235/e/23b fos. 281, 282).

Beeston did another inspection of the Battleford HBC post in October of 1889. J. B. Parker, clerk, was in charge and Turtle Lake was the only outpost at this time. That summer, the freight had to be transported overland due to failure of the steamers to run in low river levels. He reported that the townspeople wanted a well to be built in the NWMP Fort for protection as the current method was to haul water from the North Saskatchewan River a considerable distance (Inspection report by Beeston dated Battleford, 2 October 1889 HBCA B.235/e/24, fos. 496-7). In 1892, Beeston once again visited Battleford from February 17-21. Parker was still in charge, assisted by Norman McKenzie, salesman, and Malcom McDonald, labourer. Beeston named both Alex Macdonald and Mahaffy and Clinkskill as being among the competitors. The

Company now used the Canadian Pacific Railway for transport to Regina, Long Lake Railway to Saskatoon and from there by cart. By this time there were no trading outposts from Battleford (Report by Beeston dated Battleford 21 February 1892 HBCA B.235/e/34, fos. 91-93).

As of June 1, 1892 the Company's saleshop business became separate from its Fur trade business and the Saskatchewan District was closed. Battleford became listed as a saleshop and its accounts were sent directly to Winnipeg. (Circular from Commissioner Chipman to HBC officers in charge of District dated Winnipeg 1 June 1892 HBCA D.21/4, fos. 324). It was stated that the saleshop business seemed to be a natural outcome of the changed conditions and the decline in the fur business made it necessary for the Company to adopt a new business or gradually diminish its trade with a probable loss of capital (Commissioner's Saleshop Reports HBCA no. 2, fo. 2).

“This newly acquired saleshop business has a turnover of more than \$21,000.00 a year, has had no material increase of capital employed and has been able to turn the old premises into modern stores with a market value, thereby contributing towards what would have been a heavy burden upon the fur trade alone” [Commissioner's Saleshop Reports HBCA no. 2, fo. 6].

According to a letter written by Commissioner C.C. Chipman to the Company's Secretary in London on December 31, 1897, the Battleford saleshop was managed by Henry Hickson. The business there continued under his care in the old buildings which were repaired in 1899 and then enlarged in 1904 (Commissioner's Saleshop Reports HBCA no. 2 fos. 6-7, no. 4 fos. 6-7).

In Chipman's report on the Battleford Saleshop for the year ending on the 31st of May 1905, he remarked that the business had continued to be good throughout the year, and the outlook for the coming year was favourable. Prior to the completion of the Canadian Northern Railway to Battleford it was necessary to carry larger stocks of merchandise than would otherwise have been required (Commissioner's Saleshop Reports HBCA no.10, fos. 11-12). He continued that:

“In view of the railway station being located across the River from the old-town site, it is expected that considerable trade will be diverted to the new town and other small stores springing up in the various surrounding communities. The ultimate destiny of the old town, however, largely depends on the route traversed by the Canadian

Pacific and Grand Truck Railways not yet definitely located...”
[Commissioner’s Salesshop Report HBCA no. 10, fos. 11-12].

It was also reported that the Messrs Prince Bros., the longest established of the competing stores at this time (1905), experienced a fire which completely destroyed the store. They re-opened immediately in a temporary location and then established a store in the new town north of the Saskatchewan River. As the firm was financially sound, the loss did no real damage to their enterprise and Chipman reported that “the patronage of the French population is largely extended to them” (Commissioner’s Salesshop Report HBCA no. 10, fo. 12). This most likely referred to the Métis clientele who were secured customers.

In Chipman’s report for the year ending on the 31st of May 1908, he wrote that there “continued to be a falling off in sales during the last two outfits” (Commissioner’s Salesshop Reports HBCA no. 13, fos. 7-8). The earlier loss of trade to the new town of North Battleford had been off-set to an extent by the rush of new settlers to lands on the south side of the river; however, by the time of the report this had subsided as small towns had sprung up to cater to these agricultural needs along the projected lines of railway. He recommended that moving the Company’s affairs to North Battleford would be unwise as the competition was fierce and, as it was, both sides of town were resorting to such means that it was difficult to carry on any profitable business (Commissioner’s Report HBCA no. 14, fo.8). In his report the following year, Chipman reported that the Battleford shop was again turning very unsatisfactory profits and thus steps were being taken to close down the store. The Battleford store was officially closed down at the year end, May 31st 1910. Hickson, who had been in charge of the store up until this point, passed away sometime in 1909 or 1910, according to the 1910 report (Commissioner’s Salesshop Report HBCA no. 15, fo. 7).

Back-tracking slightly to the 1870s, the next section describes the recommendations put forth by Graham in order for the HBC to succeed in the changing economic environment. Responses to these propositions by the Company stockholders are also briefly summarized, along with subsequent developments resulting from the agreed upon business plan. These recommendations and actions centre on the transition period when fur posts were being replaced with general retailing stores. This is also the time period during which this thesis is based and thus these insights provide details on how the HBC was dealing with competition pressures.

4.3 The Graham Report

In 1870, Cyril Graham, vice-president of the Transatlantic Telegraph Company, was sent by the HBC to Canada in order to survey the country and research prospective business ventures in light of the ever changing economic and political scene (Ray 1990). In particular, Graham looked at the fur trade, the relations between the company and its officers and general business prospects. He travelled the country, talking to leading businessmen, politicians and the HBC officers and finally filed his report in two instalments from Fort Garry.

Upon completion of his survey, he recommended that the company stay active in the fur trade for three major reasons (C. Graham to Sir Stafford Northcote, Fort Garry, 15 March 1871, London Correspondence Inward – Official Hudson's Bay Company, 1871, HBCA A 11/100). First, it was believed that the prospects of the industry were still excellent. Second, it was estimated that 15 years would be required for the completion of the proposed transcontinental railway. Until this time, any large-scale settlement and agricultural development would be delayed, and thus the fur trade could provide the company with revenue during this time. Third, it was also believed that the continued involvement of the HBC in the fur trade would allow its officers to continue their influential relations with the native people (Ray 1990). Thus these officers could promote peaceful relations between the latter and incoming settlers, allowing for rapid agricultural development and an earlier return on the company's sale of its land holdings.

The Canadian government also favoured HBC involvement, assuming company officers would act as peacekeepers and government agents in the northwest. It was believed that the troubles in the United States were due to government agents defrauding the native people of their annuities, and thus the company officers were chosen to distribute government annuities from their posts. The Prime Minister, John A. Macdonald, was "anxious, indeed, that we should be able to deal with the Indians upon satisfactory terms as they are the great difficulty in these newly civilized countries" (Ray 1990:4). In turn the HBC stood to reap economic benefits from their appointed position. There were nine reserves established around Battleford and thus when the annuities were paid out a huge influx of customers entered the store, increasing their sales.

After close inspection of the fur trading operations, Graham concluded that new ways had to be found in order to stop increasing costs and declining profits. Without this it was projected that the company would not be able to match the competition brought on by the expanding railway and telegraph. As nearly all transactions were of in a credit-barter nature, a large amount

of capital was invested every year in both client debts and post inventories (Innis 1970). The delays in transportation and exchange meant that it could take nearly five years for the capital to turn over and thus added to the high expense of doing business. Although attempts were being made to cut costs, gift-giving and economic aid were still provided as in the past, although in less lavish forms (Ray and Freeman 1978:52-62). It was believed by HBC officers that this traditional aspect of the trade would help maintain good relations with the native peoples, not to mention that the actual cost to the HBC was insignificant relative to the benefits.

It was proposed that the best way to cut expenses was through the development of steamboat service on Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan, Peace, Athabasca and Mackenzie rivers. The old Red River cart/York boat/canoe system of the pre-industrial age proved to be too labour intensive. As well, the Métis labourers were becoming unruly, insisting upon carrying smaller loads and travelling at slower speeds (Donald Smith to the Governor and Committee, London Correspondence Inward – Official Hudson's Bay Company HBCA A 11/51 87-88). With the use of steam, the company could bypass their present transportation issues and profit from the traffic generated by settlement and commercial development (Davenport and Rylance 1980; Tway 1963).

It was also recommended that the food ration allowances, normally given to the men and their families in the Northern Department, be eliminated in exchange for a modest increase in pay for those employees stationed in the prairies and parklands. Those men in remote locations continued with the old practice as they could not purchase food locally (Bowsfield 1977). Additionally the gross system of valuation was to be replaced by a more finely tuned pricing system (Ray 1990:7). Graham noted that although some items were sold for reasonable profits, many of the more valued stock items were under-priced to the point where competitors would buy and re-sell them for a profit.

Graham was surprised to find that despite the company's long experience in trading, it had failed to develop a system for acquiring merchandise at the lowest possible rates (Tway 1963). In fact he claimed that nearly any merchant could get a better price from a wholesaler than the Company did for the items regularly carried on inventory (Ray 1990). This mass wholesaling industry was all made possible by the expanding railway and telegraph. This network also provided the means by which competitors could conduct successful business operations in sparsely populated locations once dominated by the HBC.

In the area of alternative business prospects, Graham reported that the HBC was particularly suited to the development of a general retail trade. Having already earned a reputation for carrying high-quality merchandise for the fur trade, the HBC also carried a large portion of goods that would be in high demand by incoming settlers (Innis 1970). The posts located more to the south were ideally located to serve these prospective customers and their very existence would draw settlers around them, enhancing the value of the surrounding property (Davenport and Rylance 1980; Ray 1990). Central to Graham's recommendations was the idea of diversification in a way which reinforced both traditional and newer business activities at the same time (Bowsfield 1977). Many other fur trading companies had already foreseen the changing economy and were quick to recognize that the key to survival was diversification (Ray 1990).

4.3.1 Reactions to Grahame's Recommendations

When Grahame's recommendations were presented to the stockholders on June 28, 1871, several aspects were forcefully opposed. It was felt that any further investment into the fur trade was a breach of faith (Innis 1970). Many of the newer stockholders had invested with the understanding that the company was turning its attention to the construction of communication and transportation systems as well as the promotion of land sales. They believed the fur industry had little future in face of the advancing agricultural front which would eventually destroy the resources (Bowsfield 1977). The proposed expansion into general retail was also strongly opposed as it also did not fall within the investment goals. When put to a vote, the plan was easily defeated by a show of hands. Unhappy with the results, the Company called for a paper ballot and runners were sent into the streets to collect more voters. This time the plan was accepted; however, not without much dissent and thus it was decided that a mail-out ballot be conducted (Ray 1990). Again the plan was passed, although for the rest of the 1870s the committee's management was often criticized (Tway 1963).

Once the plan was passed, a suitable structure and strategy for managing the diversifying businesses was developed (Ray 1990). Eventually it became clear that the management of all the company's affairs by one or two individuals was unsuitable (Mackay 1937:302-303). A man trained in one area was often ill-equipped or little inclined to take initiative in another and this resulted in the neglect of certain opportunities. James A. Grahame, hired in 1874 as chief

commissioner to oversee the fur trade and saleshop, was one such example. He was a long-time fur trader and thus gave priority to this business area while only slowly responding to the new sales opportunities (Ray 1990).

Joseph Wrigley was appointed as trade commissioner in 1884 to replace Grahame (Ray 1990). He was the first commissioner who hadn't apprenticed in the fur trade; instead he had a background in woollen textile manufacturing in England (Tway 1963). This departure for the HBC was a reflection of the Company's attempts to move retailing beyond the fur trade realm (Stardom 1995). Although he was also expected to place the fur trade operations in an increasingly competitive position, Wrigley was busy handling the company's contracts with the government, supplying the troops sent to quell the North-West Resistance (Ray 1990).

Several new innovations in the late 1870s caused increased competition for the HBC. The establishment of the telegraph in the 1870s enabled raw fur dealers located in urban centers of Canada and the United States to communicate with their buying agents who were known as live wire travellers (Ray 1990). These men, representing various eastern firms, were dispatched to the various towns along the railway in order to purchase furs as far away as the Edmonton vicinity (Innis 1970). The telegraph enabled them to keep in contact with their home offices, from which they received advice regarding what types of furs to buy, what prices to pay and when need be, to obtain money by wire (Ray 1990). Thus, this new innovation enabled smaller operations to challenge the monopoly of the Company and to conduct the fur-buying business in new innovative ways (Tway 1963).

Another new type of business which developed in the 1870s and '80s involved mail order fur buying (Tway 1963). Advertisements were placed in newspapers and flyers indicating the current prices that they were paying for furs. Consignment fur selling also developed, making it easier for newcomers to enter the business. These new businesses further supported smaller fur trapping firms and independent trappers, as they facilitated the rapid disposal of their furs, which then provided them with the immediate returns necessary to conduct their business (Ray 1990).

As late as the beginning of the twentieth century, the HBC had yet to modernize their invoicing and retailing activities (Ray 1990). The Company continued to offer only the same high-quality staple items they had been relying on through the years, rather than experimenting with new lines of merchandise (Innis 1970). It was the smaller operations who took the lead and introduced "fancy goods" which were generally cheaper and of lower quality than the

Company's goods (Ray 1990). As increasing numbers of settlers entered the area, they desired new articles such as printed cottons, playing cards and straw hats (Tway 1963). The Company's only attempt to match these advances was done at the posts located along major transportation routes. Here they attempted to keep up by examining the new merchandise offered in the samples of travelling salesmen, and then sending their orders to the Company's purchaser (Ray 1990).

By the late 1880s, this practice was common in those districts along the Canadian Pacific Railway line. Unfortunately for the Company, conducting business in this manner meant that numerous small orders were placed with a variety of manufacturers and thus they could not profit from wholesale pricing, one of their major competitive advantages (Tway 1963). Another problem came about with communication. Many of the post managers did not provide enough information regarding their orders and additionally the orders took so long to process that the goods were often no longer available or outdated upon their arrival (Ray 1990). This is also evident at the Battleford post as indicated from Beeston's 1888 inspection reporting on that year's outfit (discussed in chapter 6).

In order to bring about some order to the system, trade commissioner Wrigley made part of the new Winnipeg store a supply depot for the Northern Department (Innis 1970). It was supposed to provide the posts with samples in order to guide the placement of orders. Managers of nearby districts were encouraged to visit the store and become familiar with current retail trends and to select their goods (Ray 1990). It was also recommended that the Company should increase the variety of new merchandise which was in demand; however, the specific types of goods were not indicated (Tway 1963).

It was not until the second decade of the twentieth century that the HBC began to seriously recognize the impacts of urbanization on the Canadian west. Finally in 1910 the shareholders separated the company into three divisions: fur, land and stores, with a major focus on stores (Belisle 2011). In 1912 the Stores Commissioner stated that "the future policy of the company should be to develop departmental stores, both in Vancouver and Calgary and other principal cities in western Canada" (Report on the HBC stores in Canada by Burbridge dated 1912:102 HBCA A.102-2504). By 1913 the managers in charge of the frontier stores were brought to Winnipeg in an attempt to meet the demands of the new Euro-Canadian trade (Ray 1990). It also became policy that district managers had to justify their orders to the commissioner's office, rather than allowing them to fill their purchases alone (Phillips 1970).

Thus it had become obvious that retail sales were becoming increasingly important as a source of revenue due to the decrease in profits from furs (Ray 1990).

4.4 Summary

Beginning in 1868, the HBC maintained a presence in the Battleford area until the early twentieth century, when profits ceased to be adequate. Growing from a small wintering post out of town, to a general retail store within the new community of Battleford, the HBC adapted to the new economic conditions through re-location, increased store size and an expanded consumer target. Despite these attempts, change was slow and numerous set-backs inhibited the Battleford HBC store from keeping up with and controlling the local trade. According to the HBC archives, these included poor transportation systems, losses incurred from the North-West Resistance and decreases in native treaty money, keen local competition, inadequate purchasing systems and poor accommodation to changing consumer demands. By 1907 sales were falling off and steps were taken to close the store.

The following chapter describes the evolving economic conditions in the west by summarizing wholesalers and retailers from Red River and the United States, as well as direct local competition in the Battleford area. Newspaper advertisements are also examined in order to identify marketing strategies. Together these descriptions provide the economic context within which the HBC was operating.

Chapter 5

Nineteenth Century Retailing

5.1 Introduction

During the second half of the nineteenth century numerous changes were occurring within the Canadian retail industry that eventually had a direct impact on the success of the HBC. Modernized methods of pricing, marketing and purchasing were being developed, all of which were foreign to the company's operating policies. Wholesalers began to play a major role as they could supply small stores with a variety of lower priced goods. This chapter begins with a brief discussion of the development of wholesaling and the subsequent changes that occurred in the west. The incursion of retail competition is also discussed and includes American companies as they posed a significant threat to the HBC monopoly in southern Manitoba and the North-West Territories. At a local level the Clinkskill & Mahaffy business is examined to determine the type of direct competition in Battleford during the transitional period (1870s and 1880s). The local newspaper, the *Saskatchewan Herald*, is also reviewed in order to identify marketing strategies of both the HBC and other retailing competition. It is the intention of this chapter to provide a general overview of the emerging economic environment in the late nineteenth century and to highlight the modernizing changes being made to the retail industry at this time.

5.2 Development of Wholesaling and the Modern Retail Industry

During the mid-nineteenth century wholesaling of consumer goods became an increasingly important aspect of the retail industry and was a primary force in merchandise distribution (Engle 1949). Wholesaling can be defined as "the process effectively utilized to facilitate the conveyance of finished or processed goods or commodities from the producer to the retail outlet at the lowest cost" (Kolody 1949:225). A wholesaler in purchasing bulk quantities of goods from the manufacturer is able to purchase the items at a lower rate. Wholesalers can then supply retailers with a variety of merchandise at reduced costs. It was in this way that most

imported and exported goods were distributed both in and out of the country (Engle 1949). This new wholesaling system opened up opportunities for the establishment of smaller, independent retailers as they no longer had to secure their goods from eastern Canada or abroad by which high transportation costs were incurred. This also enabled stores to keep abreast of changing trends and technologies as shipments could be made more frequently to match the changing consumer demands. Contrary to this developing system, the HBC was still supplying their posts with goods arriving directly from overseas once or twice a year. This latter system resulted in delayed shipments and outdated goods, making it difficult to compete with the more modern stores. Contrary to today's retail industry, direct selling or buying of commodities was relatively unknown until the emergence of the department store in the late 1880s and 1890s (Belisle 2011).

Western Canada was experiencing considerable population growth in the late nineteenth century and hence small retail stores were established to meet the demands of the expanding communities. Changing demographics from bachelors to families, along with changing economics from fur trade to agriculture, all contributed to the needs of this newly forming group of consumers. It became necessary that a more efficient supply system be established from which these stores could purchase their stock (Engle 1949). The Red River settlement, later known as Winnipeg, was the ideal wholesaling location as it was the gateway to the developing west where many small independent stores were being established. It was from Red River that many of the competing stores in Battleford purchased their stock and thus it was a crucial connection with the rest of Canada.

5.2.1 Wholesaling in Red River and American Competition

Beginning in the 1840s, trade in the west was organized by a group of wholesale merchants in Winnipeg who remained unchallenged until the 1880s when competition from eastern Canada began to occur (Kerr 1977). The origins of trading in the Red River settlement can be traced back to independent traders such as James Sinclair and Andrew McDermott, who began challenging the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly of the west (Gluek 1965). Buying furs and buffalo robes from the native people, these merchants' trade amounted to nearly half of the HBC's by the 1860s (Morton 1970). Although the life and economy of the Red River Valley was dominated by the fur trade, agriculture remained vital. Production was variable, but nevertheless, farmers and retired HBC employees comprised a growing market for a variety of

goods and as a result a few general stores were opened in competition with the HBC (Morton 1970). Over time, traders and storeowners became increasingly concentrated around Fort Garry and by the 1860s over 12 businesses were in operation (Douglas 1944).

Well-developed trading relations with American wholesalers in St. Paul, U.S. allowed free traders to sell their furs and deal directly with American wholesalers (Gluek 1965). As previously discussed, the Métis traders posed significant competition to the HBC both in Red River and on the plains through these economic ties with the United States. Goods varying from boots and shoes to patent medicines could all be acquired through this trade and even merchandise ordered directly from London was often shipped via St. Paul and transferred to carts or river boats by such American agents as James Hill and Norman Kittson (Kerr 1977). These strong trading relations with St. Paul persisted until the late 1870s.

It was not until 1867 that eastern Canadian distributors and manufacturers became involved in trade at Red River. It was Alexander Begg, representing several Hamilton companies, who introduced Canadian goods for the first time (Manitoba Library Association 1971). Even ten years later, 70% of the goods arriving in Winnipeg were still imported directly from the United States and Britain, while only 30% were purchased in eastern Canada (Kerr 1977). It was not until post-1878 that imports from eastern Canada began to exceed those coming from the States and Europe.

With the incorporation of Rupert's Land in 1869, Winnipeg grew in strength as the major collection and dispersal centre for the West. Its population grew from 500 in 1870 to over 6,000 in 1880 (Begg and Nursey 1879). Until the late 1870s, trade hovered between two and four million dollars annually, after which the volume of imports grew dramatically (Kerr 1977). Exports were primarily derived from the fur trade, while financial input such as "spending by the federal government, modest speculative investments by eastern Canadians in anticipation of growth and a developing trade with the agrarian hinterland" also helped promote Winnipeg's economy (Kerr 1977:132).

Throughout the 1870s rural settlement slowly increased in Manitoba and the North-West Territories. In order to provide sufficient services for this ever-growing farm population, a small number of general stores were opened in these communities which depended increasingly on wholesalers in Winnipeg for goods (Kerr 1977). The further from Winnipeg the frontier of settlement moved, the greater the reliance on Winnipeg wholesalers. Thus interdependence

emerged between Winnipeg and the expanding countryside. Through a variety of services and by providing credit, Winnipeg wholesalers were able to forge long-lasting relationships with retailers in the hinterlands (Kerr 1977).

Several factors prevented eastern Canada from supplying a larger portion of the trade goods in the 1870s. The Northwest at this time was viewed as a distant and sparsely populated country and thus little attempt was made to participate in its development (Kerr 1977). Even as late as 1891, the population in the western interior of Canada was only 220,000, a number roughly equal to four or five counties located in extreme southwestern Ontario. In addition, poor systems of transportation posed huge challenges for even the most ambitious of traders. The distance spanning eastern Canadian cities and Winnipeg remained enormous, making the building of roads, railways and canals a necessary priority. Shipment rates from Toronto to Winnipeg were excruciatingly high, costing \$60 a ton and making commerce from eastern Canada less than desirable (Kerr 1977). Kittson of St. Paul, who had a virtual monopoly of the steamers on the Red River, also charged exceedingly high rates (Monetary Times 1873:562). He, however, arranged that the rate discriminated in favour of St. Paul, thus encouraging many of the Winnipeg merchants to purchase heavy goods from there (Kerr 1977).

It was in the late 1870s that a distinct change occurred in the trade of Winnipeg. Due to several interrelated factors, such as improved transportation facilities and rumours of large-scale railway building, economic growth accelerated at a great speed. The volume of trade dramatically increased, as did the population of Winnipeg. New interest in the west by eastern Canada could be seen through real estate investments, branch establishments and the sheer numbers who took up residence in Winnipeg (Kerr 1977). Soon old trading companies were joined by new ones and external relations were greatly expanded.

By 1886 19 major establishments were operating and controlling most of the trade in Winnipeg, all acting as wholesalers and tapping into the hinterlands through the use of travelling salesmen or by establishing branches (Kerr 1977). For example, as described by the Winnipeg Commercial newspaper, “the Stobart Company had business connections all over the northwest and were about the first wholesale dry goods house to open up trade in the far Prince Albert District” (Commercial 1883:293). It was reported that the trading community in the west was remarkably stable and strong. Goods were bought from wholesalers in eastern Canada, the United States or Britain according to price, quality or tradition, and were then sold by the

Winnipeg major wholesalers through their own retail stores or to other retailers and distributors across the plains (Kerr 1977).

With the growing interest of eastern Canada and American companies in the Winnipeg trade and the West, branch offices increased along with the list of agents, jobbers, brokers and commission merchants (Kerr 1977). The majority of branch offices were established by Ontario and Quebec manufacturers, with only a few deriving from eastern wholesalers and none coming from the United States (Thompson and Boyer 1886). The HBC can be classified as both a branch operation as well as an important agent for distribution (Kerr 1977). In 1880, a policy statement went out to shareholders indicating the company's intent to compete for western trade through the establishment of saleshops (Report on the Proceedings at the general Court of the HBC, dated London, 6 July 1880 HBCA A.1/152). By the early 1890s a number of stores were scattered across the west. Although this transition from fur trade to wholesale and retail trade has been little studied, it can be said that London was the decision-making centre, while Winnipeg became the point from which the prairie outlets were supplied and policy was administered (Kerr 1977).

With the Canadian Pacific Railway offering regularly scheduled year-round freight and passenger rail service after 1886, access to the west became easier. Delivery dates of goods could now be guaranteed with better quality service and the waiting period was much reduced (Innis 1971). The great reach of trade along the railway now allowed country storekeepers to choose where they got their merchandise from, ranging from Winnipeg to Montreal to eastern Canada as well as internationally from the U.S. and abroad. Although price played a dominant role in their decision-making, evidence suggests that quality of service, credit arrangements and personal association were also critical to determining the placement of orders (Kerr 1977). In the new highly competitive market it appears as though the eastern traders had some advantages, especially on freight rates. By the late nineteenth century little if any direct contact with British or American traders occurred, indicating that the tariff on goods and the CPR had secured the western market for eastern establishments (Kerr 1977).

During this evolving era of the 1860s and 70s, there were also several key American companies who played a role in the development of the Canadian west and posed as competition for the HBC. For example, I.G. Baker & Co. was a mercantile and grocery company based in Fort Benton, Montana. It was established by Isaac Gilbert Baker and his brother in 1865-66 under the name I.G. Baker & Brothers (Corbin 2006). At that time they quickly dominated the

local trade; however, in 1867 the arrival of Thomas C. Power challenged their position (Ray 1990). Finding no available buildings in Fort Benton, Power borrowed a large tent from Baker until a store could be built which thus forged the beginning of a long and important relationship (Corbin 2006). For the next three decades the firms would provide both competition and help for each other's business.

Baker expanded his business to St. Louis, taking on Charles and William Conrad as partners and leaving his brother George in charge at Benton. Six years later in 1874, George sold his shares of the Fort Benton house to the Conrad brothers and moved to St Louis to join his brother and concentrate on the I.G. Baker & Brothers business there (Klassen 1985). William and Charles soon changed the name of the Benton firm to I.G. Baker and Company (Corbin 2006). It was quickly realized that the future of trade lay in steamboats on the Upper Missouri River, and Baker and his new partners, the Conrads, established a line of steamers, the Baker Line, enhancing the company's transportation system.

Despite previous success from the illegal trade of whiskey in southern Alberta and southwestern Saskatchewan, it was the arrival of the Canadian NWMP in Whoop-Up country (southern Alberta, southwestern Saskatchewan) in 1874 that brought even more prosperity to the I.G. Baker & Company business (Sharp 1955). The NWMP had been sent out to discourage American invasion, stop the illicit trade of whiskey, patrol the boundaries and collect customs, as well as gain the respect and trust of the native peoples while aiding them in the transition from nomadic to sedentary ways of life (Bowsfield 1977; Innis 1970). The Canadian government recognized that there was a lack of legitimate mercantile infrastructure in the Belly River country which was situated in what is today southern Alberta, just north of Montana Territory (Corbin 2006). Thus the supplies had to be secured from the Missouri River.

With the arrival of the NWMP at Fort Macleod, it was announced that I.G. Baker had secured the contract to supply the force for that year (Sharp 1955). The long established Hudson's Bay Company was forced to give up what little presence they had in the Canadian prairies to the American company and their better established trading networks (Corbin 2006). Baker & Company then followed the NWMP across the Canadian plains, establishing stores at Calgary, Fort Walsh, Lethbridge, Medicine Hat and Cypress Creek (Klassen 1985). The Hudson's Bay Company commented on the success and impact of the Baker firm in the Canadian West. "We have several small buildings about a quarter the size of Baker's. Baker has

a large supply of goods on hand, their present stock being about \$25,000... We had to buy what we wanted there, owing to there being nothing in the H.B. store” (Bridges 1883:23). Baker, ever the entrepreneur, became the paymaster in 1876 for the Police divisions after profiting from the HBC’s failure to fulfill the first contract issued for the NWMP payroll at forts Macleod and Calgary (Corbin 2006; Klassen 1985).

In 1876 a bonded line was established, securing Canadian trading privileges for Baker and other Fort Benton firms. The Baker Bonded Line ran by rail from Chicago, Duluth, and St. Louis to Bismarck and Benton via the Missouri River and then on to the Canadian forts of Macleod and Walsh (Corbin 2006). In 1878, in addition to their freighting business, Baker became involved in the Canadian beef business. Prior to 1877, the NWMP obtained the majority of their meat supply from the local buffalo herds (Innis 1970). By 1878, however, this supply had diminished due to over-hunting and the lack of locally available meat forced the NWMP to contract Baker for a domestic beef supply (Sharp 1955). Additionally, Baker was also responsible for supplying the Canadian government with beef to meet its treaty obligations to the Blackfeet. During 1878-79 the Canadian government beef contracts with I.G. Baker & Company were worth more than \$500,000 alone (Corbin 2006; Sharp 1955). By 1882, I.G. Baker & Company held contracts to supply various Indian agencies and Police posts in the Territories, amounting to more than \$450,000 (Corbin 2006).

Thus by the 1880s both Baker and Power formed the largest and richest firms in the vicinity, posing great competition for the HBC (Sharp 1955). At this time T.C. Power boasted that “his stores could provide anything that can be purchased in New York. In the same stores with the general merchandise, agricultural implements and miners’ equipment were stocks of fine wines, liquors, and cigars, silks, satins and broadcloth, as well as services of tailors, bootmakers, milliners and dressmakers” (Sharp 1955:220). A. Staveley Hill, a British financier and member of parliament, noted “Oh, my Hudson’s Bay Company, all this might have been yours, if you had not sat by with folded arms and allowed your legitimate business to have been grabbed by some Montana adventurer” (Hill 1885:215). Year after year, both I.G. Baker and T.C. Power secured lucrative contracts from Ottawa, beating out Canadian firms.

Over time the Canadian government became concerned about who exactly was benefitting from the supply-contracting business generated by the assistance programs supplying rations for the treaties. At the outset, I.G. Baker & Co and the HBC were the two major

beneficiaries. The American company supplied southern Alberta and south-western Saskatchewan, while the HBC provided provisions to the Saskatchewan River valley and Manitoba. The companies also received the contracts for the clothing allowances and the agricultural implements promised in the treaties (Ray 1990). Additionally they supplied the needs of the NWMP, receiving between the two of them up to \$1 million worth of government contracts a year in the early 1880s. For the HBC this was an unforeseen boost during a time of slumping fur sales and sluggish settlement which had decreased the amount of revenue expected for this time (Tway 1963).

From the outset, Canadian businessmen opposed the deals given to the two companies, arguing that both I.G. Baker and the HBC were foreign establishments and were thus preventing Canadians from profiting in the development of the northwest (Ray 1990). The Prime Minister defended the two companies, pointing out that Canadian firms were not excluded from bidding for supply contracts. I.G. Baker and HBC just happened to be the lowest bidders and they both had good delivery records and were thus awarded with contracts. In 1885 it was again argued that offering the government contracts “en bloc” eliminated Canadian firms because they were unable to supply the entire range of goods required by the Indian Department and the NWMP. It was not until 1888 that block tendering was abolished, allowing smaller firms to supply a narrow range of goods. I.G. Baker suffered most as it was primarily replaced by ranchers in southern Alberta who could supply the beef relief. Ogilvie, a Montreal based milling company became the main supplier of flour. The HBC actually felt fewer negative impacts from the changes. Finally, in 1891, the HBC bought the Canadian interests of I.G. Baker and T.C. Power, thus becoming the major supplier to the prairie and parkland areas (Ray 1990).

5.2.2 Retail Competition in Battleford

Several general stores were operating alongside the HBC in the Battleford area in the 1870s and 1880s. According to HBC records and the local newspaper, the *Saskatchewan Herald*, strong competitors included A. Macdonald and Clinkskill & Mahaffy. Although information is limited on Macdonald, there is a detailed report on James Clinkskill and his business partner, Thomas Mahaffy, which sheds some light on operating a general retail business during this time, as well as how they viewed their competition, the HBC. Clinkskill later moved his business to Saskatoon and became mayor in 1906.

James Clinkskill was born on May 9th 1853 in Glasgow, Scotland. In 1882, at the age of 28 Clinkskill boarded the *Parisian* out of Liverpool bound ultimately for the North-West Territories (Hanson 2003). Soon after arriving in Halifax he travelled by train to Montreal, Toronto, Chicago and finally reached Winnipeg on March 16th 1882. Although he attempted homesteading, Clinkskill quickly realized that this would not be his future and he entered into the trade business catering to the newcomers (Hanson 2003).

Clinkskill took on a partner, Thomas E. Mahaffy, a young man from Ontario who held similar interests in general merchandising. Following the recommendations of several Winnipeg businessmen, the two men set out for Prince Albert to establish their enterprise. They experienced low sales; however, and after hearing of a shortage of supplies in Battleford, Clinkskill set out to test the market (Hanson 2003). He arranged for the use of a small log building located near the foot of the hill on the south edge of town which had previously served as a trading post. By October of 1883, their Prince Albert venture was abandoned and Mahaffy had arrived in Battleford with the rest of their stock (McPherson 1967).

Not long afterwards, Clinkskill took a trip to Winnipeg to obtain more goods. In order to return to Battleford he was forced to take the train to Regina and then board a construction train to Swift Current (Hanson 2003). From there he sought freighters to carry his load overland 300 km, a task which proved to be somewhat difficult. Most of the local freighters worked for Macdonald and the HBC store and didn't want to work for him; however, Clinkskill managed to hire some Métis who did not live in Battleford and were unemployed by the competition (Hanson 2003). Although rumors of the Hudson's Bay Company running the competition out of the country circulated, Clinkskill denied any such experience, stating that had occurred before his time. He did indicate, however, that they tried to bluff him on all the business they got (Hanson 2003).

Clinkskill reported very little damage in transit caused by the freighters on the cart ride from Swift Current to Battleford; however, the field mice proved to be another story (Hanson 2003). In cases of delayed travel, where the brigade was forced to camp for several days, the mice would often get into the cases and nibble at the goods. Such damages were added to the cost of transportation.

Initial freight rates were four dollars per hundred pounds; however, as competition increased rates decreased. By the 1890s the goods could be sent to Saskatoon by rail (145 km

from Battleford) and the rates by this time had dropped to two dollars per hundred pounds. During the summer it was easy to find freighters; however, in winter after the snow had fallen they would only work for exorbitant rates (Hanson 2003). Thus goods were purchased in large quantities to cover a minimum six months of trade.

Once the goods arrived in Battleford, the task of costing was undertaken. This consisted of calculating the cost of transportation (rail and overland) for each separate case and the net cost was then added to the original price of each article. This was necessary as some items which were low in value were heavy in weight and thus each item had to bear its cost of transportation (Hanson 2003). As the use of currency in the form of silver money was scarce, Clinkskill, following the example of one of his competitors, began issuing his own paper money for the small amounts of 15 cents, 25 cents and 50 cents. When trade occurred versus cash transactions, merchants were forced to take in payment any product which they could later dispose of, such as grain, cattle, beef, fish, frozen milk in the winter, cordwood, charcoal, Seneca root and furs (Hanson 2003). Both butter and eggs were imported from the east. Clinkskill also got a permit to import liquor to Battleford for his own use, as the product was not allowed to enter the Territories unless accompanied by a permit issued by the Lieutenant Governor (McPherson 1967).

In the early summer, trappers and traders from up north came into town with their winter stock to trade. There was fierce competition in town among the stores, especially when higher priced furs were brought in. Clinkskill noted that “the HBC was rarely successful in getting these trades. They had a fixed schedule of prices to pay for furs sent from headquarters, the manager could not vary his prices” (Hanson 2003:4). He often bought moose pemmican with berries in it as it provided quick sales among the Métis. Knowing the aboriginal people’s fondness for blankets, Clinkskill attempted to locate ones identical to the Hudson’s Bay Company product. This proved difficult and what was believed to be identical turned out to be a poor replica. “When we came to offer it to the Indians they showed us that it wasn’t the same. That black band was actually blue-black. Well the ones we could get were all black and they pointed that out to us although the blanket was just as good” (Hanson 2003:6). The Native people’s love of colour was further seen as the HBC used to paint the barrels of their guns for them. The native people also used steel and flint for starting fires; however, Clinkskill had difficulties in securing a supply of them and stated that he sent down to the States for them (Hanson 2003:7).

In the fall of 1884, in anticipation of the Indian annuities being paid out, Clinkskill and Mahaffy stocked up on goods favoured by the Native people. That fall the annuity sums were larger as this was the first time for a large number of the Native groups to appear in Battleford since some of the treaties had first been made (Hanson 2003). As a result, Clinkskill got the largest share of the money spent.

Clinkskill and Mahaffy would also occasionally take on freighting contracts for the Indian Department and this proved to be profitable. They were also awarded a contract to supply flour to the Indian Department; however, after difficulties with the local flour miller, the flour was bought in Regina and resulted in very little profit for them. The worst setback was in 1885 when, like the HBC, their store and storehouses were looted and burned during the North-West Resistance (Hanson 2003; Loscombe 1986). All of their outstanding accounts were written off as customers believed the Resistance had wiped out their indebtedness. Nonetheless, with the help of their creditors Clinkskill and Mahaffy rebuilt their business, with the next few years proving to be quite profitable. With increases in population by both the NWMP and some eastern volunteers, Battleford's demands also increased. Furthermore the settlers had lost both their household goods and their farm buildings in the Resistance troubles and all needed to be replaced. Clinkskill thus profited from these necessities. He reported that "we were taxed to provide all the goods called for" (Hanson 2003:7).

All of the Battleford merchants acquired their goods directly from their suppliers and thus commercial travellers were rarely seen in the area. Both the HBC and Macdonald purchased their goods at their headquarters, while Clinkskill made regular trips to Winnipeg (Hanson 2003). A few courageous travelling salesmen attempted the journey to Battleford after long brigades of carts carrying goods to Battleford were seen passing Swift Current. However, a second trip was never done due to the lack of purchases made. Thus the market for general goods in Battleford was fairly sealed up by local retailers and in order for the HBC to continue getting their share, it was necessary for changes to be made. Examining advertisements in local newspapers can provide information on how stores were marketing themselves to the community and thus how they were dealing with the competition. The following section provides a summary of ads found in the *Saskatchewan Herald* newspaper run out of Battleford beginning in 1878.

5.3 Newspaper Advertisements

In order to study consumer trends on the local level, newspapers and in particular advertisements provide a valuable source of information (Orser 2004). Advertisements give a more direct indication of local costs and availability of goods; however, the details and value of such information can vary with the types of newspapers and goods researched (Praetzellis et al. 1988). While some goods may be well illustrated, others may be only generally described. Nonetheless, even a list of goods provides information on the variety of merchandise available to a community and thus the material expressions of their lives. These ads provide important information regarding the attitudes of local consumers, as the merchants sought to capitalize on the public's perceptions (Orser 2004).

Prior to 1850 in both Europe and North America, mass advertising was nearly non-existent. Early retail advertisements were visually non-appealing and consisted mainly of text. Most of these were newspaper notices and generated significant revenue for the local papers, contributing nearly half of Canadian papers' total budget (Belisle 2011). During the second half of the late nineteenth century advertising began to expand rapidly as manufactures increased their outputs and depended on consumer spending for survival. Thus more attention was focused on publicity; newspapers expanded and lengthened their publications while investments were made in printing to allow specialized fonts and colours (Belisle 2011). In the 1870s Eaton's, Morgan's and Simpson's (large competing Canadian firms in Toronto and Montreal) were all running half to full page ads a couple of times a week in local newspapers. By 1900 "more papers were sold each day than there were families in the nation" all containing major advertisements from local retailers (Johnston 2001:29).

In Battleford, the *Saskatchewan Herald* became the first newspaper to be published west of the Red River Valley (SCSA 1885-1944). It was established by Patrick Gammie Laurie who was an experienced newspaperman from Aberdeen, Scotland. Working first in Toronto, Brantford and Owen Sound, Laurie soon made his way west to the Red River settlement in 1869. There he became the head of the book printing department for the Manitoba Free Press where he worked until May 1, 1878 and after which Laurie decided to move west with his wife and children to Battleford where he established his own newspaper, the *Saskatchewan Herald* (McPherson 1967) (Figure 5.1).

Throughout the mid to late 19th century most products were advertised on a local level and hence the local merchant became responsible for marketing both local and imported goods



Figure 5.1 – Top: P.G. Laurie and family outside Battleford home, 1883; Bottom: P.G. Laurie outside Saskatchewan Herald Office, 1878 (used with permission: Saskatchewan Archives, accession #S-B66; #S-B75)

(Praetzellis et al. 1988). The exceptions were certain brands of patent medicines and bitters, and later on baking powder and sewing machines which were all advertised nationally by their manufacturers. Therefore local advertisements often provided the place of origin of their goods and thus an attempted reconstruction of the trade network becomes possible. Unfortunately, the advertisements in the *Saskatchewan Herald* only indicate where the store was located, ranging from Toronto to Winnipeg to Edmonton, with several smaller locations in between. The ads simply provide a list of available items at the stores such as dry goods, groceries, boots & shoes, hardware, crockery and stationary (S.H. 1878 August 25:1-3).

The mode of transportation (cart, train, steamboat, etc...) was frequently mentioned in the ads and when combined with the quantity and variety of imported goods, the community's trade network can be established. As Battleford was by-passed by the railway in favour of a more southern route in 1881, the town remained isolated from direct connections with eastern Canada. Goods had to be brought to town by either steamer or overland by cart, thus limiting the availability of goods. By 1892, as reported by Beeston's inspection report, the HBC used the CP Railway for transportation to Regina, then took the Long Lake Railway to Saskatoon and finally from there by cart. Thus, prior to the completion of the Canadian Northern Railway to Battleford, it was necessary for all retailers to carry larger stocks of merchandise as the frequency of stock delivery was much reduced. Moreover the HBC was not yet utilizing wholesalers in Winnipeg for supplies and hence their goods had to travel much greater distances to reach their final destination. This impeded the company from keeping up with the latest goods and trends already available at stores located closer to the railway or with shorter supply routes.

Looking at the variety of competing advertisements can also determine the mode of acquisition within an area (Praetzellis et al. 1988). In Battleford's case, several stores were regularly advertising in the *Saskatchewan Herald*, including leading competitors Clinkskill & Mahaffy and Macdonald (Figure 5.2). In the very first volume of the Herald, dated August 25, 1878, Mahoney & Macdonald ran an advertisement on the 3rd page listing their available goods and indicating "highest prices paid for robes, furs and pemmican" (S.H. 1878 August 25:3). It also indicated that they carried imported butter from Ontario, but that due to the favourable acres of rich grazing land in the Battleford area and the potential for local dairy industries it was expected to only be temporarily carried. The only other advertisements in this issue were for Winnipeg wholesalers, located on the front page claiming "at least double the goods to be found

in any establishment west of St. Paul” (SH 1878 August 25:1). Several months later on December 2, 1878 it was reported that “Mr. Ballendine had just built a new store located a little to the east of the old one” and “a bakery was among the latest additions to the industrial enterprises at Battleford” (S.H. 1878 December 2:2). On July 28, 1879 Mr. Ballendine also ran an advertisement for his store on the front page (S.H. 1879 July 28:1). Among the other advertisers in this volume are merchants from Winnipeg, Prince Albert and Edmonton.

Beginning in August of 1880, Mahoney & Macdonald ran half to full page ads every couple of months indicating their newest items in stock. It was not until August of the following year that another Battleford store appeared in the paper: F. Smart & Co. The following issue displayed a large Macdonald advertisement, no longer including Mahoney in his business (S.H. 1881 August 22:3). Several variations of these ads for both stores ran regularly, along with Winnipeg merchants until May of 1883 when F. Smart appears to have ceased business. Soon after, in June of 1883, Clinkskill and Mahaffy make their first appearance, stating “in order to meet with quick sale, prices have been fixed almost below usual selling rates...hoped the opportunity will be taken advantage of to buy goods of first class quality at unusually low rates” (S.H. 1883 June 23:1).

During the North-West Resistance the newspaper ran weekly editions; however, they were shorter in length and rarely contained advertisements. Regular appearances did not resume until August of 1885 for Macdonald and November for Clinkskill & Mahaffy. Up until this time not a single advertisement had appeared for the HBC concerning their general store in town. The other general stores advertised lowest prices, indicating that cost was an important factor in consumer behaviour. The HBC on the other hand emphasized the sale of land in advertisements rather than retail goods. In fact one of the first advertisements for the HBC appeared on June 7, 1880 concerning the sale of land in Manitoba and the NWT (SH 1880 June 7:4). Advertisements for their general retail store did not appear until post 1886 when the new store was built. Perhaps the HBC finally began to feel the effects of competition in the Battleford area, forcing the company to market their goods to the local population in the *Saskatchewan Herald*. Nevertheless, during this time it appears as though the Battleford competitors had the upper hand in general retailing.

In fact throughout the years very little is mentioned about the HBC store in Battleford, with the exception of several entries regarding the arrival of flour. On June 21, 1879 it was reported

that “a consignment of freight consisting of flour and provisions arrived on the 22nd, the first arrival of the season... the flour was all dispensed of within 24 hours of its receipt” (S.H. 1879 June 21:1). A similar entry appears on July 14, 1879. The HBC store appears to be less concerned with selling their products or perhaps they were unused to competition and how to deal with it (S.H. 1878-1886). As they had held a monopoly during the previous fur trade era, there had been little need to market their goods over other locally available goods. As the competition grew in Battleford (namely Clinkskill & Mahaffy and Macdonald) it was noted that the other stores were offering better quality and variety of stock and unlike the HBC store, the goods were imported during the proper seasons (Beeston 1888). The HBC’s stocking difficulties and revenue losses are described in both Commissioner C.C. Chipman’s letters to the Company’s Secretary in London dated May 31st, 1908, as well as earlier in Beeston’s inspection reports (Commissioner’s Salesshop Report, HBCA, no. 15, fo.7, Beeston 1888). Substantial loss of clientele would have contributed to increasing amounts of overstocked and unsalable items in the store (and vice versa, the items stocked were not meeting the consumer’s needs and thus their business was lost).

In E.K. Beeston’s Battleford inspection report completed in both 1888 and 1889, numerous items were listed as unsellable stock as they were either old stock, too expensive, soiled or of no value anymore. These included the following: capots, lamp shades, elder quilts, sealskin, arrow root, dried apples, wine glasses, straw hats, nickel mugs, ladies squares, tins of oysters, beads and costumes. Items which were listed as overstocked included: vests, nails, canned goods, electro plates, spoons and forks (Inspection Report by Beeston dated Battleford 2 October 1889 HBCA B.235/e/23b, fo.280). Comparing this with the archaeological record (although dating to 1885), unused nails were also found in abundance, especially 1 ½” plain square head nails. In the 1889 report it was estimated that an unnecessary extra \$2000 worth of old stock was on hand and included fixed priced flannels, merinos, moleskins, tobacco, canned goods, gloves and velveteens (Inspection Report by Beeston dated Battleford 2 October 1889 HBCA B.235/e/23b, fo.280).

It was generally concluded by Beeston that the stock at the store was not well suited to the wants of the trade as many of the items were too expensive and the fancier items showed signs of age. It was also noted that the stock was too big, especially in dry goods (Inspection Report by Beeston dated Battleford 2 October 1889 HBCA B.235/e/23b, fo.280). The accounts

SASKATCHEWAN HERALD.

"PROGRESS."

BATTLEFORD, N. W. T. (CANADA), MONDAY, AUGUST 25, 1878.

SUBSCRIPTION, \$2 A YEAR.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

FARMING, GRAZING, COAL AND MINERAL LANDS FOR SALE

In the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, The Company own 7,000,000 acres in the

GREAT FERTILE BELT!

Extending from the International Boundary northward five miles beyond the North Branch of the great Saskatchewan River, and from the Eastern Boundary of Manitoba to the Summit of the Rocky Mountains.

All these lands are carefully examined by competent Inspectors, each quarter-section being separately reported upon. Reports have also been received upon the Company's

Coal Lands in the Souris River District.

And the Inspection of the Sections in the vast Coal Areas of the Saskatchewan, Bow and Belly Rivers will be proceeded with in the course of the present year. The whole of these lands are now offered for sale on

EASY TERMS of PAYMENT

And Without any Conditions of Settlement or Cultivation Duties.

TOWN LOTS are also for sale in the following flourishing and rising Centres of Trade: **WINNIPEG, WEST LYNNE, PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE, RAT PORTAGE, ELPHINSTON, FORT QU'APPELLE, COLVILLE, EDMONTON, PRINCE ALBERT.**

20 Maps and Plans with full information in regard to all these lands can be obtained, either personally or by letter, at the Company's Office in the City of Winnipeg.

C. J. BRYDGES, Land Commissioner.

A. McDonald & Co

BATTLEFORD, N.W.T.,

NEW GOODS

ARRIVING DAILY.

JUST RECEIVED,

A large and well selected stock of

DRY GOODS,

READYMADE

CLOTHING,

GENTS' FURNISHINGS,

Etc., Etc., Etc.



Established in the Dominion 1845.

Figure 5.2 - Saskatchewan Herald Advertisements (S.H. 1878 Vol. 1:1; 1881 Vol.111 no.21:3)

in 1889 were small with many of the customers making only one or two transactions an outfit, thus appearing to be only making a convenience of the company (Inspection Report by Beeston dated Battleford 2 October 1889 HBCA B.235/e/23b, fo.280). Beeston suggested that more requisitions be made to Winnipeg, as it took too long to travel from Prince Albert, delaying and preventing the sale of goods. In addition it was recommended that the officer in charge make at

least one trip to Winnipeg a year to view the goods.

Advertising slowly changed focus during the early twentieth century, as retailers used advertisements to claim their role in aiding Canadian progress and creating a national identity (Belisle 2011). They were the providers of essential goods and services and, through business growth, retailers claimed their existence was spurring national development and bringing the nation into the modern era. Many companies used their historic ties to Canada to demonstrate their civic contributions to developing communities. The HBC capitalized on their heritage by reminding their customers of the company's role in creating modern western Canada (Belisle 2011). For example it was pointed out that "the company's traders had governed Rupert's Land, fed, clothed and supported the natives and held the future Western Canada in trust for the British Empire" (The Beaver 1921:20). By providing goods and services to Canadians coast to coast, it was implied that one could claim membership to the national community with the purchase of specific goods.

5.4 Summary

As settlement in the west grew, general retailing stores were established in order to meet the growing consumer needs of the communities. With wholesaling ties established early on in the Red River Valley, these new stores could obtain various supplies and fancy goods despite their relatively isolated locations on the plains. Over time eastern Canadian businesses began to surpass imports from both the United States and Britain and with the completion of the railway, goods could be transported at lower costs across the country. While several American companies had caused losses for the HBC in the south, the newly established railway enabled Canadian companies to take hold of the market.

Battleford was no exception as several general stores opened up to compete with the established HBC. These new businesses were modern in their approach as they placed several orders throughout the year to ensure the latest trends could be available at the lowest cost. The HBC on the other hand was still operating as it had in the fur trade era, receiving shipments once or twice a year from their main headquarters in Winnipeg at whatever the prices happened to be. Furthermore, HBC inspection reports for Battleford indicate the goods on hand were a poor match to the consumer needs and thus fewer sales would have resulted. The HBC's use of steamers was also unreliable, resulting in delayed orders and overstocked items. The competitors

on the other hand transported their goods overland preventing any such delays. Examining the *Saskatchewan Herald*, the advertisements indicated that while the HBC was concerned with land sales in pre-1886, their competitors were focussed on marketing their goods to the community. Thus a disparity between HBC operations and the local competitors appears to have occurred during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 6

Archaeology and Methodology of the South Battleford Project

This chapter describes the details of the 1972 excavations of the FeOb-2 site in historic Battleford, including methods, descriptions of the various impacted areas and various problems encountered during the re-examination of the collection. Steps taken during this re-examination to organize and catalogue the artifacts are also summarized. Finally, the methodology used to classify the collection into functional categories is presented with a chart summarizing the total number of items in each group.

6.1 South Battleford Project Background (FeOb-2)

The South Battleford Project was a salvage project done in 1972 which encompassed five areas of excavation and included the HBC store. The following discussion covers the original goals and previous work done at the FeOb-2 site in Battleford upon which this thesis is based. The store was chosen for this research as it represents goods available to the growing Battleford settlement area. Although its abandonment was unplanned and most goods were abruptly left behind, the store was later scavenged intermittently by local Métis, aboriginals and Europeans alike, all seeking supplies during the supposed “Siege” of Battleford. The HBC complex is the major focus of this thesis; however, the other areas are included due to confusion in Borden numbers (discussed in section 6.1.2). Although carefully excavated in 1972, very little interpretation was attempted and much of the original paperwork (e.g. catalogue, level records) is now missing. The following has been included in order to provide as much original context and information regarding the site as possible.

6.1.1 Original 1972 Project Goals

Dale Perry of Saskatoon headed the South Battleford project, supervising a crew of six in the excavation and mapping of the site. According to the preliminary site report: “The aim of the

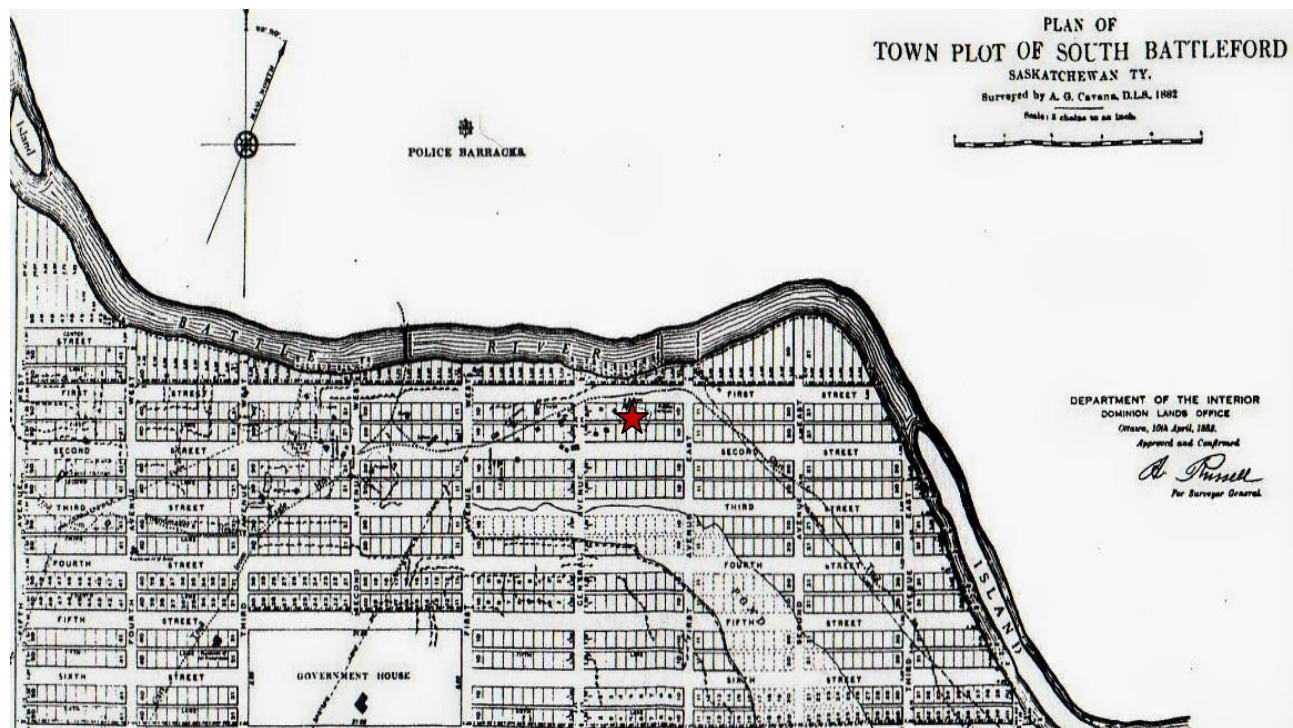


Figure 6.1 - 1882 Cavana Map - ★ = HBC store (NAC, RG-15, Interior Series, D-II-1, vol. 426, File 111911, reel T13124, part 1, South Battleford General File, Map 1882-1925).

archaeological phase of the project was to examine, document, excavate and otherwise salvage the part of the former town of Battleford that was in immediate danger of destruction from the re-routing of Highway 4 through Telegraph Flat” (Perry 1972:5). After examining the 1882 survey map done by A.G. Cavana, Perry determined that this would result in the impact of the Hudson’s Bay Company complex plus another two buildings to the west. The objectives were threefold: “First to collect all surface material which has resulted from the cultivation of the old townsite, second to archaeologically document the size, position and configuration of all the buildings and features and thirdly to recover and remove all artifacts that may be exposed as a result of the excavation” (Perry 1972:5). These goals only referred to the field work phase, as historical research and artifact analysis had yet to be completed at the time of writing.

6.1.2 Field Methods

Field methods were consistent with the standard procedures of excavation in historic archaeology used at the time. With the help of the Department of Highways, North Battleford Sub-District, four of the steel survey stakes from the 1882 survey were located and using the two

that marked the corners of the block on the south side of First Street (between Central Avenue and First Avenue East), a grid was established around the five buildings of interest (Perry 1972). One hundred foot (30.5 m) units were staked and initial testing of them was done with trowel and brush method. It was quickly determined that any near-surface evidence of the buildings had been destroyed by the subsequent cultivation and thus it was concluded that traditional methods of testing were too slow for the time and resources available (Perry 1972). With the use of a grader, the cultivated layer over the entire east half was removed, revealing the undisturbed soil underneath. Two pits were discovered, along with the HBC fence and cellar. A total of 300 cubic yards (roughly 230 m³) was removed in less than five hours. Subsequent areas of interest were re-surveyed into ten foot (3.05 m) units and excavated following traditional methods (Perry 1972).

Throughout the field season, over 2,000 square feet (roughly 186 m²) within the four buildings and the HBC fence were excavated (Figure 6.2). Originally, each area was given a separate Borden number, within which features were given letters (Perry 1972). Although the Borden numbers FeOb-2,3,4 and 5 were initially used during this project, Dale Perry failed to report their use to identify the various areas excavated. The exception was FeOb-2 which was recorded in a temporary site report filed by Ian Dyck for Dale Perry in 1972. This resulted in the eventual use of these other Borden numbers for different sites in the area. FeOb-2 has remained the Borden number for the entire South Battleford project and thus the various areas excavated have been re-named: FeOb-2: Hudson's Bay Company Complex, FeOb-2: Building, FeOb-2: Building B, and FeOb-2: Garbage Pit. There is also a fifth area labelled "Laurie's Print Shop" on some of the artifact bags; however, as this area is not mentioned in the preliminary report it has been kept separate as FeOb-2: Laurie's Print Shop. Features within these areas have remained lettered as originally done by Perry (1972); however, due to poorly recorded provenience it is difficult to determine which artifacts came from each feature.

A preliminary report was put together by Dale Perry in 1972; however, since then little has been done in the way of analysis and overall historical reconstruction. Furthermore the paper work for this site, including profiles and catalogue records, has been misplaced and thus no longer accompanies the collection which is now stored at the Royal Saskatchewan Museum in Regina. Dale Perry is now deceased and when combined with the length of time passed since the date of excavation, very little first-hand knowledge has been gained regarding the original

project. Some of the crew members were contacted but due to the elapsed time, few details were provided.

6.1.3 Description of Areas and Features

According to the site report produced by Perry (1972), four distinct areas were identified and then excavated. The following section briefly summarizes the various excavations, including feature descriptions, proposed functions, types of artifacts found and general observations regarding the areas explored.

FeOb-2: Hudson's Bay Company Complex

Within this area, two of the three buildings identified were excavated. The third was left untouched due to a lack of time and the negative results produced from Building 2. With the use of historical records, both excavated buildings were found within the fenced enclosure of the HBC complex. The fence itself was also located and excavated in three separate areas. Additionally three other surface features were also examined (Perry 1972).

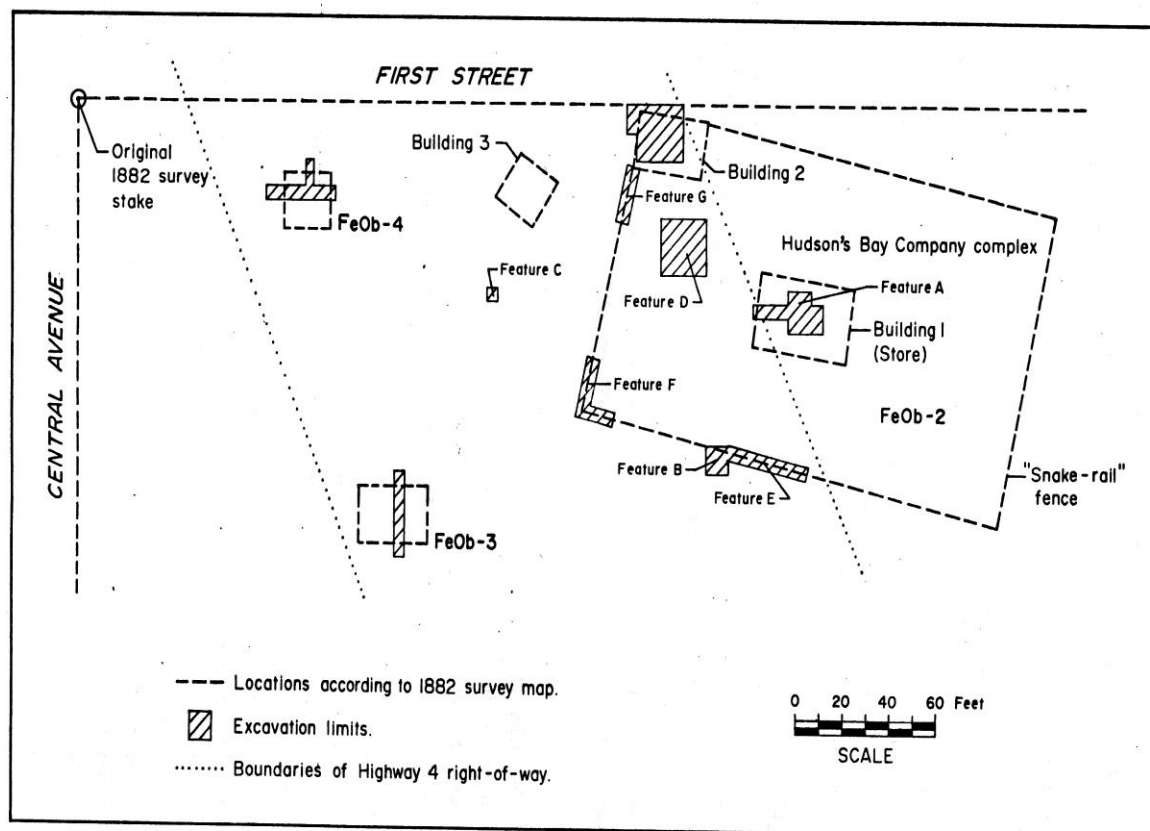


Figure 6.2 - Excavation Site Map (Perry 1972:7)

Both Buildings 1 and 2 were located within a cultivated field and very little structural evidence was found. Within the plough zone itself, however, a significant amount of building debris, consisting of brick and chinking fragments, were recovered from Building 1. Much of the debris showed signs of burning before it was scattered. Due to the fragmented and dispersed nature of the items, interpretation, orientation and construction of the buildings were impossible to determine. Artifacts recovered included a large complete amber beer bottle, clay pipe fragments, ceramic sherds, both bottle and window glass and plain square head cut nails. Building 2, despite being extensively excavated, lacked the ever-present building rubble found scattered throughout the rest of the site. The dimensions and orientations of both buildings shown in Figure 6.1 are thus based on historical evidence only (Perry 1972).

Feature A: Cellar

The cellar was the most significant feature of the entire project and has provided the majority of the recovered artifacts. It is assumed that the cellar was located within the walls of building 1 and thus aids in determining its location (Perry 1972). The cellar measures roughly 6 m² (8 feet square) and roughly 1.07 m (3 ½ feet) deep. It was not cribbed and thus is composed of a simple hole in the ground with a loosely packed sand and gravel floor. Very few artifacts were recovered from the uppermost layers; the majority were confined to the brown sand mid-section of the cellar (Figure 6.3).

The following is a summary of the events recorded in the cellar profile according to Perry (1972:10). The bottom outline represented the actual hole dug for the cellar, while the flaring sides indicated cave-in episodes both during its use and later during the burning of the building. The bottom level was a mixture of sorted and unsorted coarse brown sand and gravel, easily obtainable from the nearby river bed and used in the formation of the floor. Above this was a level of yellow sand and represented soil that had caved in from the sides. Occurring directly above this was what remained of the floor and other associated parts of the building, forming a lens of burned soil, charcoal and charred wood. This would have been deposited during the burning of the building. Next was a thick layer of brown sand, containing large amounts of building debris and artifacts (Figure 6.3). The debris, which consisted of burned wood, brick and chinking fragments, would have come from the walls and roof of the building located above the cellar opening. The artifacts represented those items which were on hand at the store at the time of burning and which were located either in or near the cellar opening. The upper two layers

represented later fill; the yellow sand from natural processes of deposition and the debris-filled sand from human activities during cultivation of the site. Major groups of recovered artifacts from the cellar included nails, buttons, sickles, scythes, handsaws, ceramic sherds, bottle sherds and window glass.

Feature B: Ash Pit

This feature was located directly to the south of the south fence line and consisted of a depression roughly one meter in diameter and half a meter deep. The upper level contained a large amount of white ash, while the bottom was filled with light brown sand. Most artifacts were confined to the upper level of the pit and included a tin can, clay pipe fragments, buttons, beads, a fish hook, garment eye hooks and plain square head cut nails (Perry 1972).

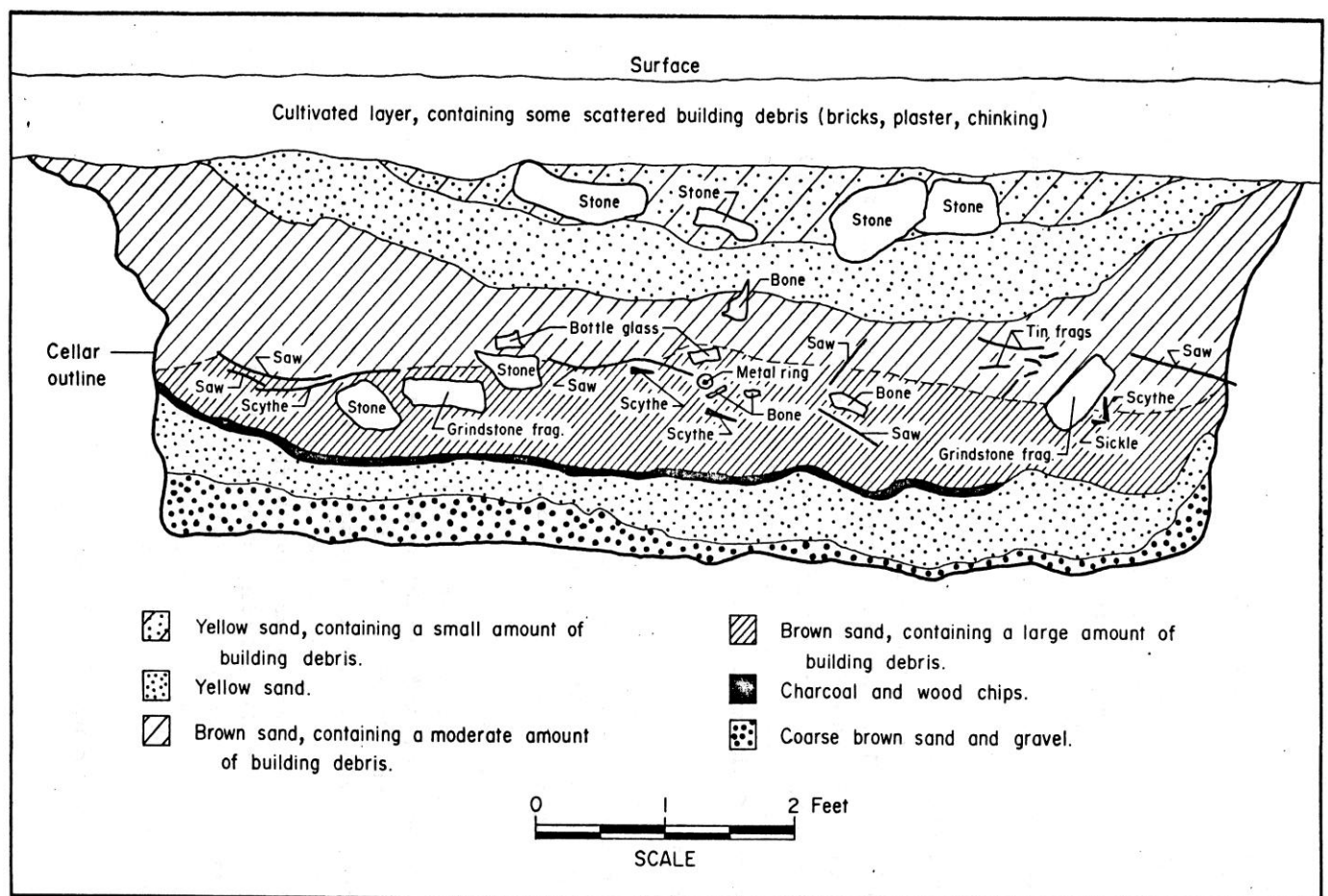


Figure 6.3 - Cellar Profile (Perry 1972:9)

Feature C: Storage Pit

This feature was located outside the Hudson's Bay Company enclosure, but was included due to its close proximity to the complex. The pit was oval in shape, measuring 1.4 meters long, 0.76 meters wide and one meter deep. The majority of the pit was filled with decayed organic matter; however, the function was not determined. Recovered artifacts include plain square head cut nails, a ceramic sherd, a bottle glass sherd, several glass sherds and a large amount of metal strapping (Perry 1972).

Feature D: Ash Stain

This feature, like so many of the others, was discovered after grading operations had removed 15 cm of plough zone from the area. It is most likely the remains of an accidental fire as it does not appear to be connected with any other structure (Perry 1972). Only a few scattered nails and window glass fragments were recovered from the cultivated layer.

Features E,F and G: Fence

Remains of the wooden fence that enclosed the Hudson's Bay Complex consisted of "a number of closely spaced sapling pickets set in a trench 1 foot wide and 1 foot deep" (Perry 1972:13). The fence was uncovered for a total of 26 linear meters in the various three features and excavations indicated that there was an opening (perhaps a gate) in the south side at the far west end of the fence. A combination of nails, tin cans, ceramic sherds and bottle glass sherds were recovered from the trench (Perry 1972).

FeOb-2: Building (formerly FeOb-3)

A nine meter long test trench was dug through this nearby building which was indicated on the 1882 survey map. Results were largely negative, with a few pieces of building debris and the odd artifact being confined to the cultivated layer. These items were most likely brought in by the cultivation equipment. Nothing was found below the undisturbed soil. Again the size and orientation of the building shown in Figure 2.1 was based on historical evidence, which also indicated that this may have been an aboriginal person's house (Perry 1972).

FeOb-2: Building B (formerly FeOb-4)

This building was thought to have been a telegraph store-house also based on the 1882 Cavana survey map. Results were poor with only a few artifacts recovered in the cultivated layer. No structural remains such as brick and other building debris were present. Perhaps the artifacts labelled “Laurie’s Print Shop” on their bags were from this area as well, as P.G. Laurie was the owner and editor of the local newspaper the *Saskatchewan Herald*. There are no records in the preliminary report by Perry to confirm this and thus the items have been kept separate. This creates a fifth area classified as FeOb-2: Laurie’s Print Shop (following what was recorded on the artifact bags). Without further information it cannot be confirmed where these items came from, only that they date to the same time period and settlement.

FeOb-2: Garbage Pit/Baljennie Road (formerly FeOb-5)

This area was partially destroyed by the north ditch of the Baljennie grid road and was located 66 m to the south-west of the 1882 survey stake marked in Figure 6.2. The pit was excavated and found to be associated with the settlement; however, its connection with any particular building remains unknown.

6.1.4 Summary

In summary a total of five areas was identified from which artifacts were retrieved. The vast majority came from the cellar feature within the HBC complex, while the other smaller areas remained fairly devoid of items. Due to various post-depositional processes such as unplanned abandonment, looting, scavenging, burning and cultivation the site reflects only part of what was available to the Battleford residents in 1885. The following section describes the steps taken to organize the excavated materials, as well as the methodology used in the classification of the recovered artifacts.

6.2 Catalogue Reconstruction

Previous artifact identification and classification of the FeOb-2 collection was very sporadic at best and thus it became necessary to re-create the catalogue. Although roughly one-third of the artifacts had been catalogued, the catalogue itself was missing. As the catalogue numbers recorded on some of the artifacts no longer matched up to a master catalogue, it was necessary to re-catalogue everything and then include those items that had never previously been

catalogued. Some of the artifact bags contained labels that indicated provenience and excavator; however, the majority were left unmarked and thus gave no clue as to where the items came from within the site. In addition the level records were also missing which further inhibited the reconstruction of the excavation. Fortunately the main area of the site was a collapsed, burnt, disturbed, cellar feature from a known building and thus the context of the excavated artifacts was already disturbed and would reveal little further knowledge on my research questions regarding where goods were coming from, for whom were they directed and how the store was dealing with competition. On the other hand provenience and context may have provided insightful clues as to how the events in Battleford during the North-West Resistance really occurred. Site reconstruction, in terms of how artifacts were scattered about and discarded would have provided additional data for interpreting the haste, intent and degree of dispersal resulting from the reported looting of the town. As numerous conflicting historic reports have been produced regarding the severity of the supposed “siege” of Battleford and the subsequent looting of the town, site reconstruction (as well as on a larger scale to include more of the affected area) may have aided in clarifying some of these issues.

In an attempt to minimize confusion and to retain as much of the original information as possible, artifacts were ordered following the original catalogue. The uncatalogued items were then included after that. Each artifact was given a new number; however, the original numbers were also recorded to avoid any future confusion. Previous cataloguing had been done according to bag or lot, meaning one number was assigned to each bag, regardless of the number of items or the varied contents in each bag. Everything was separated out and thus each individual artifact has a specific number. This resulted in the identification and classification of 10,150 artifacts within the entire FeOb-2 collection. As each of the five excavated areas were from distinctly different locations and buildings, they were analyzed separately so as not to impact the HBC store results. The vast majority of artifacts came from the HBC cellar excavation and the majority of artifacts coming from the other locations were very fragmentary in nature and revealed little about the consumers of the time or from where the products were coming.

Previous artifact organization appeared to be by material type or artifact type and thus most boxes contained items of a single material or type of artifact. The boxes were re-organized so that they follow the catalogue, with the first box containing artifacts numbered 1-1000, etc... Each area was also kept separated as they were previously dispersed throughout the boxes. The

paper bags were replaced with plastic re-sealable bags and each bag now contains a label identifying the contents and provenience.

6.3 Functional Classification

Historic archaeologists tend to organize artifacts into categories based on assumed function. Unlike prehistoric classification systems which are based on material and morphology, historic systems are designed to reflect cultural reality to further the understanding of the culture as a whole. This requires familiarity with the function of the cultural elements discovered at the site, as well as careful attention to context within the site (Sprague 1981:251).

Roderick Sprague (1981) proposed one such classification system which was designed to standardize categories and formats for archaeologists working on similar types of sites. Sprague concluded that “function was the highest, most productive basis for site analysis” (Sprague 1981:252). Accordingly, each artifact was first placed in a specific category which expressed its function and secondly was further described in a sub-category of that functional category (Sprague 1981:252). Sprague’s classification system was designed to begin with categories representing the individual. They subsequently became further and further removed from the individual out into the individual’s world, as one descended the list of categories. In cases where artifacts had multiple functions, the contexts of the items were examined and then placed in best-fit functional categories. Thus, in order to choose the proper category both functions and context must be carefully considered. Researchers must also remain aware of their own cultural biases being imposed upon the data, especially when utilizing western European functional categories in situations of extreme acculturation (Sprague 1981). This can lead to the misinterpretation of artifact functions based on our own experiences and beliefs.

Since publication of Sprague’s work, archaeologists have continually adapted the categories to best highlight and represent activities occurring at their particular sites. A slightly modified version of this functional classification system is used for the analysis of the Battleford FeOb-2 site (Table 6.1). Changes include the separation of several sub-groups in Sprague’s model into major functional groups such as Health and Hygiene and Social, Recreational and Indulgence (formerly all under Personal items). Sprague’s sub-groups under Domestic items and Architecture have also been separated out as it is believed that these terms are too broad to properly describe the functions of all the sub-groups. In this thesis, the Architectural functional group is reserved for sub-groups which describe structural contributions to a building such as

building materials (wood, brick), construction hardware (nails), door hardware (hinges, locks) and general hardware (staples, washers). Thus there are more major functional groups used in this classification system than in Sprague’s model. It is hoped that fewer ambiguities will exist with these changes and that decisions on artifact classification are easier and more logical. Furthermore, interpretations and comparisons will be more accurate when the functional categories are more concise, thus improving the cultural reality being reflected.

A second method of classification was also included in the catalogue in order for it to be compatible with the RSM’s classification system. This is the *Nomenclature* classification system, put forth by Chenhall in 1978 and which provides an “organized, internally consistent, hierarchical system for the classification and naming of man-made objects” (Chenhall 1978:7). This system is based on the assumption that every man-made object was originally created to fulfill a specific function or purpose and that these original functions are the only common denominator found within all artifacts. Further details on the descriptions of Chenhall’s artifact categories and sub-categories can be found in his book (Chenhall 1978). The Nomenclature system has not been used for further discussion in this thesis as it does not accurately represent the artifacts and their functions. Chenhall’s system was designed primarily for whole artifacts, with little functional regard for artifact remnants which makes up the majority of the FeOb-2 collection (as well as most archaeological collections). Thus very few of the Battleford artifacts would have been given functional classifications; instead they would have been placed in the artifact remnant category, providing little insight into site interpretations. In addition, functions are mixed within a single broad classification group, placing the majority of the FeOb-2 artifacts in “Tools and Equipment”. Again this provides little information regarding the object’s function. The following table summarizes the functional categories and sub-categories used in the classification of the Battleford collection.

Table 6.1: Functional Categories and Quantities for FeOb-2

Functional Category	Quantity	Functional Sub-Categories	
Personal	144	Adornment Clothing Fasteners	Clothing Textiles Footwear
Health and Hygiene	36	Grooming Medication	Toiletries

Functional Categories	Quantity	Sub-Categories	
Social, Recreational, Indulgence	72	Alcohol Consumption Smoking	Toys/Games
Food Preparation & Consumption	329	Food Processing Multiple & Single Use Food Storage	Serving Ware Tableware
Household Industry	22	Cleaning Laundry	Sewing
Household Maintenance & Furnishings	28	Lighting Heating	Hardware Household Decoration
Education & Communication	12	Writing	Telecommunications
Architectural	5406	Building Materials Construction Hardware	Door Hardware General Hardware
Agricultural & Animal Husbandry	136	Animal Tack	Farm Implement
Farm Industry	32	General Hardware	Woodworking
Defence & Hunting	71	Ammunition	Arms
Fishing & Trapping	6	Fishing Tackle	Trapping Gear
Unclassified*	2268	Ceramics Glass	Glass Containers Metal
Unclassifiable*	1090	Glass Leather Metal	Plastic Rock Wood
Faunal**	468	Bovidae Small Animal	Medium Animal Avian Unclassified
Organic	29	Charcoal Navy Beans	Shell

*The Unclassified category refers to those items which are mostly complete but which cannot be identified at the time of classification. The artifacts have been grouped in this case by material, as the function is unknown. The Unclassifiable category refers to those items which are so fragmentary in nature that the original function cannot be inferred. Again the items are grouped according to material type.

**The Faunal remains are not directly related to this thesis and thus only a preliminary analysis of the recovered bones has been completed. They have, however, all been counted and catalogued with the rest of the collection.

6.4 Summary

This thesis continues the work commenced in the 1972 South Battleford Project through artifact analysis and historical reconstruction. Although the paperwork of the original project was lost, a new catalogue has been created and the artifacts have been placed in functional categories according to their specific attributes. Looking at Table 6.1 it is clear that the Architectural functional category dominates the collection. This is due to the abundance of both new and used nails recovered from site. Through the use of this classification system, interpretations can be made regarding the types and varieties of items brought into the store, reflecting the lifestyle of the Battleford people. The following chapter describes in detail the artifacts recovered from the excavated FeOb-2 site and places them within a corresponding functional grouping.

Chapter 7

Artifact Analysis

This chapter outlines each excavated area individually and provides a breakdown of the various functional groups and sub-groups represented by the recovered artifacts, including detailed descriptions of the characteristics of each item. There is a total of five areas, with the HBC complex making up the majority of the collection. It is therefore the primary topic of discussion and the remaining areas have been placed in Appendix 1 as they contribute little to the major goals of the thesis. These latter areas provided very few whole and identifiable artifacts and overall had very low total artifact counts, lending little additional information on the HBC store. The following figure summarizes the functional groups represented by the entire Battleford FeOb -2 site.

Looking at the HBC collection as a whole, it is obvious that the architectural group dominates, mainly due to the vast amount of nails and fragmentary window glass recovered. Many artifacts were fragmented during depositional and post-depositional processes, explaining the large volume of unclassified and unclassifiable items. Characteristics of the artifacts also impact how they will survive and preserve in the archaeological record; hence certain groups may appear larger than they really are. For example ceramic and glass items are much more breakable than metal items and therefore although there may be many pieces of these breakable items, they may represent only a few complete objects.

7.1 Artifact Descriptions for the HBC Complex (n=8984)

Due to the lack of provenience records and the original catalogue, it was nearly impossible to determine which artifacts came from which features within this area. Although some items had their locations labelled on their bags, the majority lacked this and thus due to inconsistent records, all the artifacts from this complex have been grouped together into the cellar feature. As the vast majority of items came from this area, the addition of the other

features should have little effect on the results. The same trends are visible throughout the site, where architectural and unclassified fragments dominate the collection. Figure 7.1 summarizes the functional groups represented at the HBC complex. The architectural group is by far the dominant category, mostly due to the high volume of nails and fragmented window glass recovered.

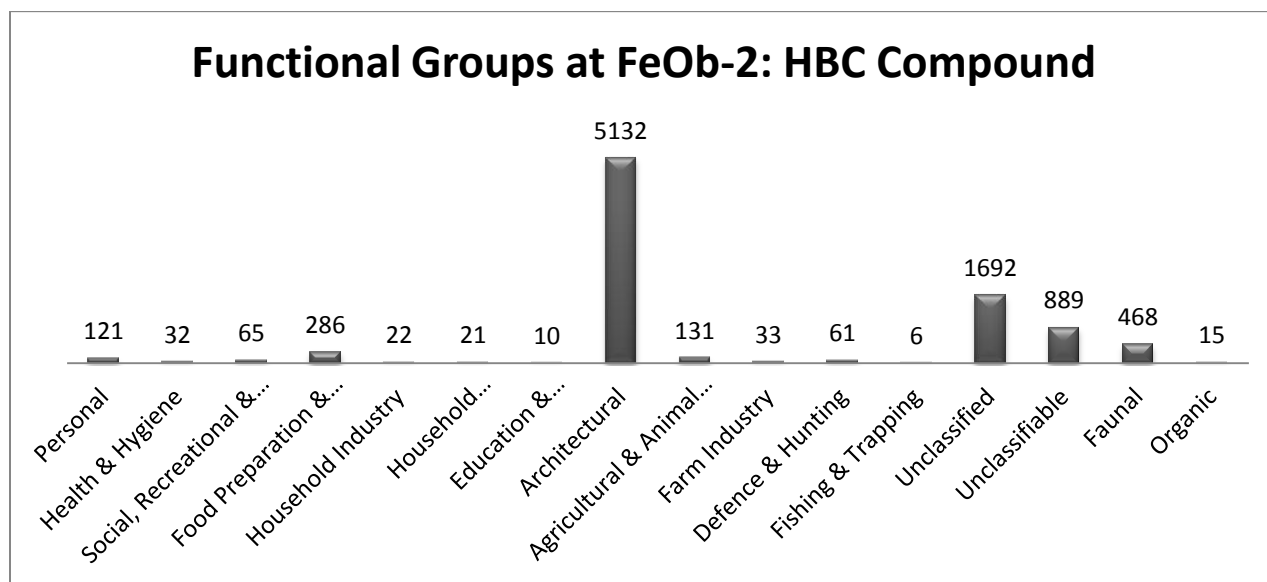


Figure 7.1 - FeOb-2: HBC Complex. Histogram of raw counts per category

Personal: n=121

Adornment: There are 24 items in this sub-group, mostly consisting of seed beads (Fig. 7.2). They are characterised as 2 mm or smaller in size and are usually used in beadwork embroidery. These beads are manufactured by blowing glass into a hollow form, which is then drawn out between two people. Once sufficiently cooled, the glass tube is cut into specific lengths (Sprague 1985). In this collection of seed beads there are: 7 white (N 9.5), 6 blue (7.5B 7/6, 7.5B 6/10, 2.5 PB 4/10, 5PB 6/10, 10B 7/6, 7.5B 6/6), 3 pink (2.5RB 8/4, 7.5 P 8/6, 7.5P 8/6), 4 green (7.5GY 7/4, 10GY 5/2, 10GY 4/2, 2.5G 6/8), and 1 red (7.5R 3/10). The Munsell Book of Colours (Munsell 1976) was used in order to identify specific colours and to remain consistent and comparable to other archaeological collections. Although blue and white beads were common throughout the early fur trade, pink beads did not appear until the late 19th century.

There is also a larger wound blue bead (Fig. 7.2 second from left) (aka blue “dragon”; 7.5B 7/6), which has a hole measuring 4 mm in diameter and would thus be classified as a



Figure 7.2 - Beads from FeOb-2

a necklace bead or pony bead, as they were most often strung on a cord (Sprague 1985). Wound beads are made by winding a hot, drawn rod of glass around a mandrel. The glass is then cooled and cut into lengths. A single drawn royal blue (7.5B 2/10) tubular bead was also recovered, and is hexagon in shape. Finally, a brass necklace or bracelet was found (Fig. 7.3). It has a cut out design and engraved flowers on it. The chain is broken making it impossible to determine its length.



Figure 7.3 - Bracelet

Clothing Fasteners: There are 67 items in this sub-group and the majority are buttons. There is a total of 23 white glass buttons ranging in diameter and pattern (Fig. 7.4). There are seven with four holes and an indented center, ranging from 1.1 cm to 1.8 cm in diameter. There are an

additional two four-holed buttons; the first has a blue ring around the outside edge and measures 1.4 cm in diameter while the other has brown around the outside and measures 1.2 cm in diameter. There are three four-holed buttons, this time with radiating embossed spokes from the center (like a halved orange) measuring 1.1 cm in diameter. There is a single four-holed button with an indented center and embossed dots around the outside edge, measuring 1 cm in diameter. Additionally there are two more buttons with four holes, which resemble a doughnut and measure 1.2 cm in diameter. There are also two domed buttons with holes in the back, perhaps where the shank used to be, measuring 1 cm and 1.6 cm in diameter each. Another button is a pyramid shape with a shank in the back and measures 1.1 cm in diameter. There is a single button with a green squiggly pattern on the front and an indented center with four holes measuring 1.1 cm in diameter. Another single four-holed button has a brownish-black paisley pattern on it and measures 1.1 cm in diameter, while another measuring the same has a more abstract black pattern on it. There is also a single four-holed button, green in color except for the indented middle which is white and measures 1.2 cm in diameter. Finally there is a slightly domed two-holed button which measures 1.9 cm in diameter.

There were also four mother-of-pearl buttons recovered. Two have two holes and measure 1.2 cm in diameter. Another variation has a raised oval around the two holes and measures 2.5 cm in diameter, while a final three-holed button measures 0.9 cm in diameter and is very thin.



Figure 7.4 – Examples of white glass buttons

There are four black ceramic buttons with four holes and a ring encircling the center, all measuring 1.6 cm in diameter. There is also a single purple ceramic button with four holes and an indented center, measuring 1.3 cm in diameter.

There is a total of nine four-holed bone buttons with a ring encircling the center, ranging from 1.3 cm to 1.8cm in diameter (Fig. 7.5 left). They range from grey to tan in colour. According to Peacock (1978: 56) bone buttons were widely used throughout the British Isles in peasant clothing prior to 1875. Production was not centralized and thus even smaller villages had local button makers. The buttons from this site would have come from general work clothing available at the HBC store or perhaps they fell from the clothing of people who were visiting the site prior, during or post abandonment.

There were two metal buttons recovered (partially covered in an unidentifiable textile), with broken shanks measuring 2 cm and 1.8 cm in diameter. Additionally, there is a total of ten metal buttons which have an oval opening in the center with a bar bisecting the aperture and an encircling ring around the entire center (Fig. 7.5 right). Some show little dots around the outside edge. They measure 1.7 cm in diameter and on some it is possible to see the following engraved on the back: "EDWARDS PATENT". According to the Repertory of Patent Inventions (Macintosh 1861), a patent was granted to John Edwards and Charles Iliffe in May of 1861, for their improvements in the manufacture of buttons. This related to the uniting of two different materials in order to produce a thicker, more substantial and therefore more useful button (Macintosh 1861). It is unsure if the recovered buttons are productions from this patent as diagrams have not been found for comparison; however, they are two-piece buttons.

There are also two four-holed metal buttons with an indented center and an encircling ring which measure 1.5 cm and 1.7 cm in diameter. A single metal button was also recovered, with four holes, an indented center and with the letters "NE PLUS ULTRA" and a pattern on it. A small piece of brownish woven textile is attached to it. There are an additional two round metal buttons lacking holes and which appear to have had shanks on the back. They are much rusted and measure 1.5 cm and 1.9 cm in diameter. There is another toggle-like fastener which is ceramic and pink and white in colour. The shank is broken off and it measures 2.3 cm in length. A large, oval, thin brass toggle was also found, measuring 2.5 cm.

Two metal garment hooks were recovered, belonging to a hook and eye set; however, the eye portions were not found. Two plain metal suspender hooks (Fig. 7.6) were also identified,



Figure 7.5 – left: Bone buttons; right: Examples of metal buttons

measuring 3.2 cm in width at their base and 2 cm in length. Another two suspender hooks were found, both are a fancier type as they have a patterned engraved in the metal. One of these has a small metal ring attached to it.

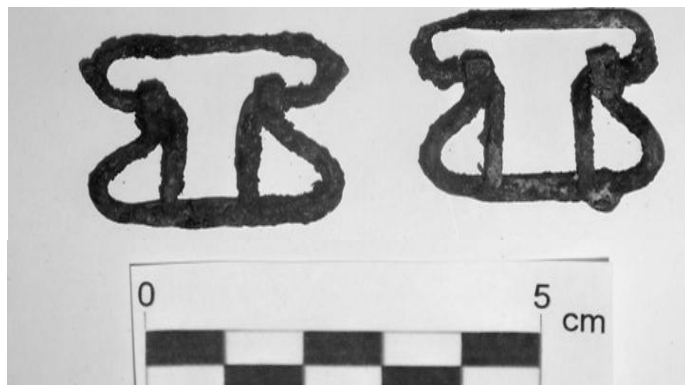


Figure 7.6 – Metal suspender hooks

Clothing Textile: There is a total of nine items in this sub-group; all are very fragmentary. There are six pieces of dark green tightly woven fabric and a single piece of burnt black woven fabric. There is a felt-like fabric, also dark green-black in colour, that has been cut in a strip. Finally there is a single thread of burnt black fabric.

Footwear: There are 21 items in this sub-group, all various parts of shoes or boots. The first two items (found together) are leather parts of a shoe or boot sole. They have small holes around their

edge and there are two small nails in them. Both are very fragmentary. The next three pieces (found together) are also part of a shoe or boot sole and show similar holes from stitching around the perimeter. An almost complete shoe sole and stacked heel were found (Fig. 7.7 top), and consist of 12 pieces of fragmented leather. The sole measures 22 cm in length and the toe area is squared, as is the leather insole piece. Again small holes can be found around the edges where stitching once held the shoe together.



Figure 7.7 - Shoe fragments

Another single heel end of a shoe was found, measuring 6.5 cm in width at the widest part of the heel. Layers of leather can be seen overtop one another and stitching is visible along the outer edges. A third heel end of a shoe was found measuring 6.5 cm in width at the heel and is 10.5 cm in length; however, it is incomplete. Finally two more small leather pieces were found, both with stitching around their edges where they were once held together as a shoe or boot. Based on the number of heels recovered, there are a minimum of three shoes represented in the collection.

Health and Hygiene: n=32

Grooming: There is a single item in this group. It is a hair brush with black bristles (unidentifiable material), held together with dirt (Fig. 7.8 top right). The backing is wood and it measures 9.5 cm in length and 3 cm in width; however, it is impossible to determine how

complete the object is.

Medications: There are only three items included in this group, although some of the numerous unclassified glass containers presumably held some sort of medication or cure-alls as well. Many aqua and clear bottles in a rectangular shape (typical of medicine bottles) were recovered; however, as they were fragmentary and missing much of the embossed lettering it was impossible to identify their contents. They have been left in the Unclassified Glass Container sub-group. The first artifact is a complete clear bottle, hexagonal in shape with the remains of the cork still in it. On one side LONDON is embossed, while on the opposite S.OXLEY can be read. The finish is applied and evidence of the use of a cup bottom mould can be seen in the circular seam running around the edge of the base. The next artifact is an aqua glass sherd from a rectangular shaped bottle with the letters ETABL embossed on it. A second similar sherd had Davis embossed on it. They are most likely from a vegetable compound bottle such as Perry Davis Vegetable Pain Killer, commonly found at sites dating to a similar time period (Fike 1987).

Toiletries: There are 28 items in this sub-group, most coming from a single chamber pot vessel (Fig. 7.8 left). The pattern consists of under-glazed transfer printed green hearts, flowers and leaves; however, it has not been identified. The vessel is whiteware and very thick. Part of the vessel has been reconstructed and there is a total of 26 sherds represented. The back of a bone toothbrush was also recovered and has a cross-hatched pattern cut into it (Fig. 7.8 bottom right).

A complete aqua colour bottle, with “Florida Water” embossed down the side was recovered and is identified as the American version of eau de cologne (Fig. 7.9). During the 19th century it was produced almost exclusively in North America and rarely appeared in any English druggist catalogues during this time (Sullivan 1994). It is a generic product whose ingredients varied from one manufacturer to another and was considered part of a druggist’s standard stock by the 1850s (Sullivan 1994). The name refers to the fountain of youth and the flowery nature of the scent. Murray and Lanman was a popular American company who manufactured Florida Water. They were established in 1808 in New York City and continue to use the same label and ingredients today (Griffenhagen et al. 1999). Glass bottles embossed with this product name are commonly excavated from sites all across Canada and date to the late 19th century (Sullivan

1994). This bottle has an applied finish, with a long narrow neck (typical of this type of bottle) and was made in a cup bottom mould.

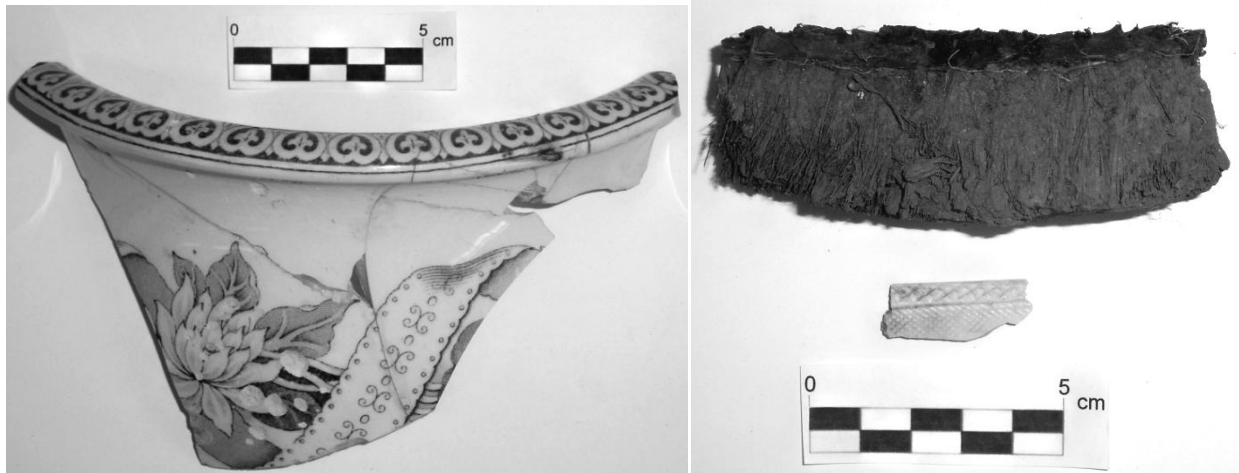


Figure 7.8 - Left: Chamber pot; Right: Brush and toothbrush fragment



Figure 7.9 - "Florida Water" bottle

Social, Recreational and Indulgence: n= 65

Alcohol Consumption: There are 17 items in this group. Several aqua Budweiser bottle sherds were found and based on the number of embossed labels there is a minimum of four bottles represented in the collection (Fig. 7.10). The bottom half of an aqua Budweiser bottle was recovered with evidence of melting. It was made in a cup bottom mould and has "CC&Co. 3" embossed on the bottom. Embossed on the front of the bottle is "C.CONRAD & Co.'s ORIGINAL BUDWEISER". Another body sherd, with part of the neck from a similar bottle was recovered, again with "C.CONRAD & Co.'s" embossed on it, thus appearing as though this is

from a second bottle and not part of the previous one. Another aqua body fragment with “D & Co.” embossed on it was found, while another two sherds, each embossed with “BUDW” and “AD &” respectively were also added to the count. This European beer was imported by two American businessmen from St. Louis (but of German origin) by the names of C. Conrad and A. Busche (Wampler 2010). The company registered the Budweiser trademark on July 16, 1878 in St. Louis and was the original trademark holder (Honsa 2009). Anheuser-Busch acquired the trademark and rights to sell when Conrad & Co. went bankrupt in 1883. The name comes from a small Bohemian city, chosen for its Germanic sound thought to attract both Americans and German migrants (Wampler 2010). It was also chosen in hopes of reflecting the quality of a European beer.



Figure 7.10 - Budweiser bottle and base

Although liquor was often present at HBC posts, the importation of an American beer for resale is unlikely, especially considering the strict laws regarding the possession of alcohol. It is

possible however, that a staff member was using the store as a front to acquire this specific brand of beer. As the Métis free traders had strong economic ties with American companies (and their presence was recorded in the Battleford area scavenging during the “siege”), it is more likely that they disposed of their bottles while going through the abandoned town. Similarly, the native peoples may have done the same thing. Alternatively the bottles may have been discarded in the area (by any number people) at another point in time, prior to the burning of the buildings as they show evidence of melting. Numerous other explanations may also exist for the deposition of these bottles at the HBC site.

A total of nine dark olive green push-up bases was recovered, with varying embossed markings on the bases. These types of bases were typically used for champagne and wine, although the exact contents are difficult to identify. The first base has a “V” embossed while the next has “XII K” and an inner circular seam which runs around it. Another push-up base has been reconstructed to form almost a complete bottle and was made in a Ricketts mould and has an applied finish. Ricketts moulds are three-piece moulds, comprised of a solid mould for the base and body and a two-piece mould for the shoulders and neck (Jones and Sullivan 1985). This mould was typically used between 1821 and 1840 for dark green liquor bottles, after which it was used in the manufacture of many other types of bottles. Three of the bases have orange peel textured finishes on them, while the last two have “IIV” and “I.K” embossed respectively on them.

Lastly there is a large amber colour bottle, 95% reconstructed. It is machine-made as the side seams go right up over the top of the finish. This bottle dates to a later period than the rest of the site as machine-made bottles were not produced until the early 1900s. Two metal tips of corkscrews were also recovered, measuring roughly 5 cm long and are much rusted.

Smoking: A total of 39 items have been identified in this group, all coming from white ball clay smoking pipes (Fig. 7.11). There are 16 pipe stem fragments, all of white clay with bores measuring roughly 0.3 mm in diameter. Four of the pieces have letters stamped into them: “c”, “Bat”, “Ba” and “Baltic”. It appears as though at least three of them had the same word stamped on them and thus were made by the same unknown manufacturer. Similar pipes were recovered at Victoria post 400 km up the North Saskatchewan River and dated from post 1879 to 1883 (Forsman 1985), well within the time span of the Battleford store. There are 21 pipe bowl

fragments but none have any distinguishing marks on them. Two joint pieces were recovered, again with bores measuring 0.3 mm in diameter. From this it is difficult to identify the total quantity of pipes present as they were highly fractured. Judging by the joint pieces and those stems with stamped lettering, there may have been as few as three or four pipes in stock. Equally possible, they may have been lost by various people visiting the store during or after the raid.



Figure 7.11 – “Baltic” white ball clay pipe fragments

Toys and Games: There are nine items in this group, six coming from a white porcelain doll. One item is clearly the hand of the doll, while another is the textured surface of the doll’s curly hair. The lower face from the nose down was also found. The last three porcelain items were curved pieces with little indication as to what portion they represent; however, they are the same thickness and composition as the other pieces. Three additional bone items were placed in this category. These have been calcined as a result of the conflagration (Fig. 7.12). They appear to be the carved arm of a doll with a hand and fingers. The letters “W-R CARPENTER” have been hand-carved into the side of the arm; however, no information has been found on this name.



Figure 7.12 - Bone "W R Carpenter" doll arm

Food Preparation and Consumption: n= 286

Food Processing: This sub-group consists of 23 pieces of a milling stone, which was intended to grind grain (Fig. 7.13). They are very heavy and appear to have come from a single artifact. The stone is reddish in colour and has concentric rings ground into the surface. When pieced together, a hole in the middle is visible.

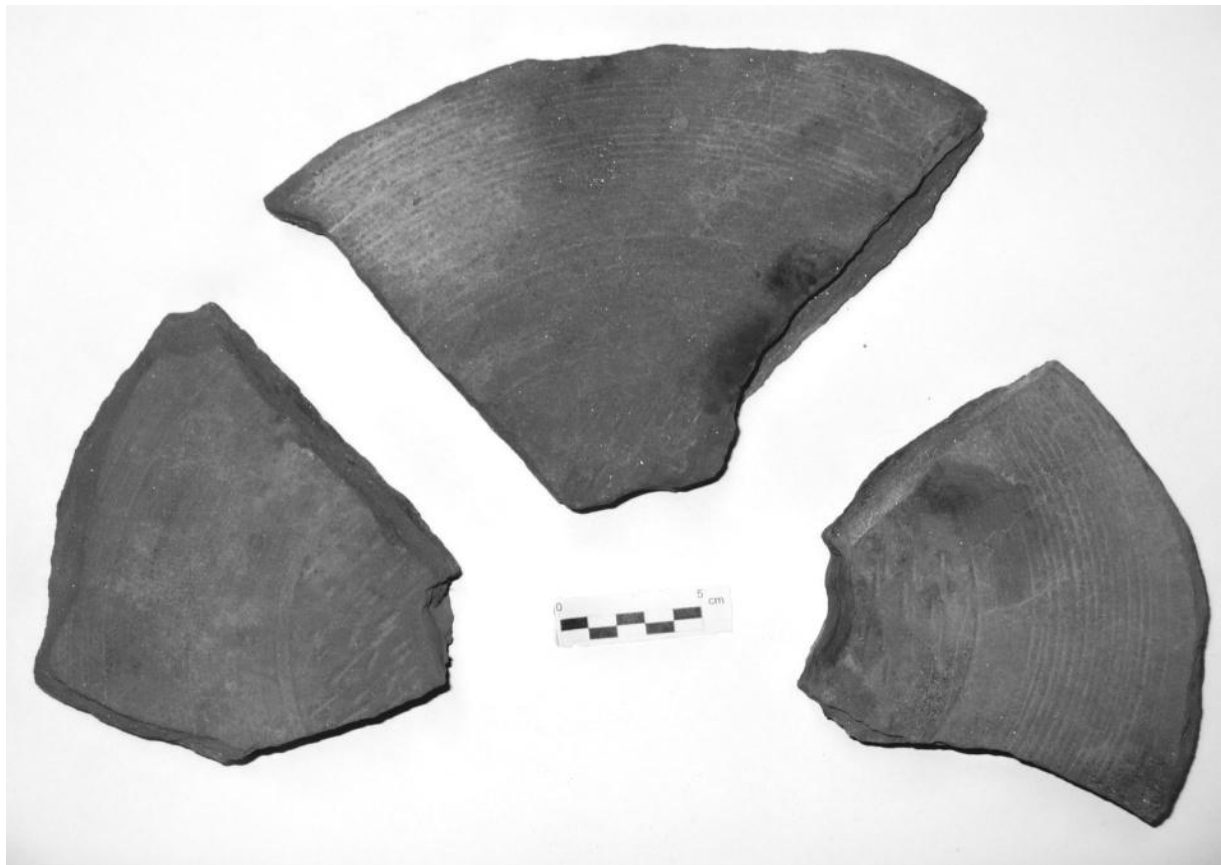


Figure 7.13 - Milling stone fragments (scale in 1 cm increments)

Multiple Use Food Storage: There are 53 items in this sub-group. The first two artifacts are earthenware sherds from a “Grand Metal of Merit Vienna 1873, James Keiller & Sons, Dundee Marmalade, Only Prize Medal for Marmalade London 1862, Great Britain” jar (Fig. 7.14 left). This was made by a firm established in 1797, in Scotland (Far Away Foods 2011). Identical sherds were recovered from the Baljennie garbage pit area (appendix B). They are white glazed with black writing. There have been 27 pieces of lead foil recovered, which, among other functions, was known to have been used in the lining of tea boxes. There is a single piece of stoneware with brown glaze, which represents the rim sherd of a jug. Three additional stoneware

pieces were recovered with a two-toned yellow glaze, together forming a complete vessel. Two of the sherds make up the tiny handle. It is a small jug, perhaps for cream; however, there are no manufacturing marks on it.

A light aqua bottle was found and reconstructed to form the bottom half of a Lea & Perrins Worcester bottle (Fig. 7.14 right). Embossed on the base is the following: “Co. A”. The base was manufactured with a cup bottom mould and has a slight push-up. Lord Sandy, a nobleman in the county of Worcester, England commissioned two chemists, John Lea and William Perrins, to reproduce a recipe he found in Bengal (Lea & Perrins 2010). The Lea & Perrins brand was commercialized in 1837 and in 1839 it was imported by New York entrepreneur John Duncan to the United States. A few years later it became the only commercially bottled condiment available in the United States, becoming an immediate success (Lea & Perrins 2010).



Figure 7.14 - Left: Marmalade jar fragments; Right: Lea & Perrins bottle

Four re-usable tin can ends, which fit over the bottom parts of a can, were recovered. They measure 7.1 cm, 6.5 cm, 9 cm and 6.4 cm in diameter each. Five complete peppermint extract bottles were recovered which have evidence of paper labels in orange, blue and black (Fig. 7.15). There is just enough between the five labels to piece together their contents; however, the maker is still unidentified. All have applied finishes and were made in cup bottom moulds. Six pieces of burnt black jute have been found, most likely parts of burlap sacks used to contain potatoes or other goods. They are only very small portions and are very fragile. A single orange ceramic bottle plug was recovered. Finally three rim sherds of a jar were found containing part of the threaded outside finish. There is nothing to indicate its contents or maker.



Figure 7.15 - Peppermint Extract bottles

Serving Ware: There is a total of 33 items in this sub-group, all coming from a single serving vessel (Fig. 7.16). It is a large oval shaped, whiteware serving dish with the blue transfer-printed *Coronal* pattern from Spode/Copeland, dating to 1882. The dish measures 19.5 cm in length and there is an “H_” stamped on the bottom. The rest is not legible.

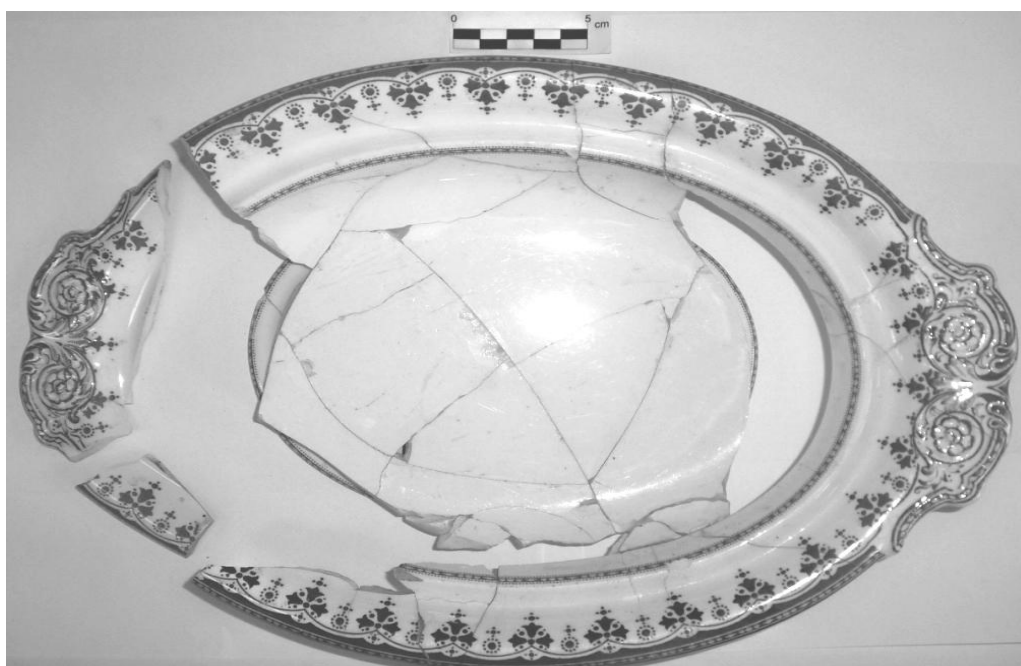


Figure 7.16 - Serving platter with Coronal Pattern (scale in 1 cm increments)

Single Use Food Storage: There is a total of 101 items in this sub-group, all comprising rusted tin cans. There is a large base or top of a can, measuring 14 cm in diameter which has a hole in the top and folded single seams. Another complete can, which has been opened, measures 7.5 cm in diameter and 12 cm in height. It too has folded single seams, similar to another two complete cans measuring 8 cm in diameter. A complete rectangular can measures 10.5 cm in width and is 18 cm tall. There is a hole in the top corner of this can which measures 4 cm in diameter. Five cracked tops or bases of tin cans were found ranging in diameter from 6 cm to 9cm. The body of a tin can, missing both the top and the base, measuring 10.5 cm in diameter was also found with folded edges. Finally, there are 89 fragmentary pieces of tin cans which have been identified based on the presence of single folded seams, like those in the complete cans.

Tableware: A total of 76 artifacts are in this sub-group, a number which would have been much higher if the smaller sherds (likely from tableware) were included from the Unclassified Ceramics group. Most of the patterns have been identified as Spode/Copeland transfer-prints and all except for two vessels are whiteware. The Spode/Copeland Company was commissioned to supply the Hudson's Bay Company with ceramic tableware and toiletware throughout the 19th century and into the 20th century (Smith 2005; Sussman 1979). The earliest invoice for ceramics provided is dated 15 June 1836 and no documentary evidence has been found to indicate the end of the contract. Examining the archaeological evidence from HBC sites across Canada, it appears as though Spode/Copeland was still the major supplier to posts in the 1870s (Sussman 1979). Sometime during the 1880s or 1890s the HBC began to receive Copeland-made ceramics through the China Hall of A.T. Wiley in Montreal (Sussman 1979:9). Before this time, goods were shipped directly from England to HBC depots to be distributed to the various posts.

Nine sherds display the blue *Honeysuckle* pattern from Spode/Copeland, dating from 1855 to post 1882 (Fig. 7.17 middle left). Half a small plate is represented along with the centre of a second plate and a fragment of a mug or tea cup. A single medium sized plate is roughly ¼ reconstructed (n=6) and displays the *Shamrock* pattern, also from Spode/Copeland dating from 1861 to 1910 (Fig. 7.17 right). A single small plate with the *Continental Views* pattern from Spode/Copeland, dating from 1845 to post 1882 was recovered and the combined two sherds represent ¼ of the plate (Fig. 7.18 right). Yet another small plate, partially reconstructed (n=3) is identified with the Spode/Copeland *Thistle* pattern and dates from 1869 to the 20th century.

Various unidentified patterns are also present in the collection. Two sherds with an unidentified light green pattern were found and fit together to form $\frac{1}{2}$ a saucer. Portions (n=16) of at least of four small plates with an unidentified red pattern were also recovered (Fig. 7.17 top left). There is a minimum of three small plates represented which have a teal green pattern and “Swiss Cottage” stamped on the back (Fig. 7.17 bottom left). A total of 20 sherds have been used in reconstructing the plates. A single flow blue sherd, representing $\frac{1}{4}$ of a small plate was also identified (Fig. 7.18 left). Finally roughly $\frac{1}{2}$ a small plate, consisting of a single sherd, was found; however, once again the exact pattern is still unidentified. It is a green pattern, with floral edging on the rim and a village, stream and tree design on the body.

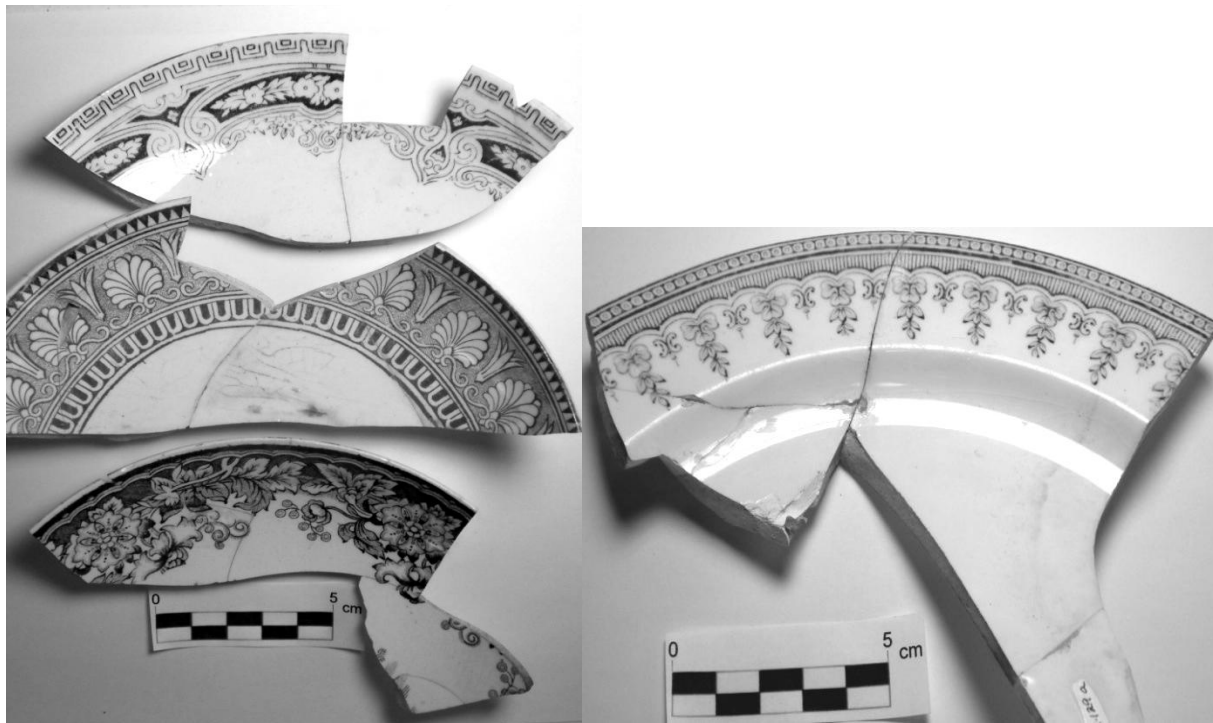


Figure 7.17 - Left: Top - Red Unknown, Middle - Honeysuckle, Bottom - Green “Swiss Cottage”; Right: Shamrock Pattern

In addition to plates, several other vessel types are present. A set of two deep bowls (roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ of each is represented) display an unidentified blue floral and leaf pattern on the outside (Fig. 7.19 left). The rim is decorated both on the inside and outside and there are no manufacture marks or crests on the bases. A single flaring mug, all white in color was identified

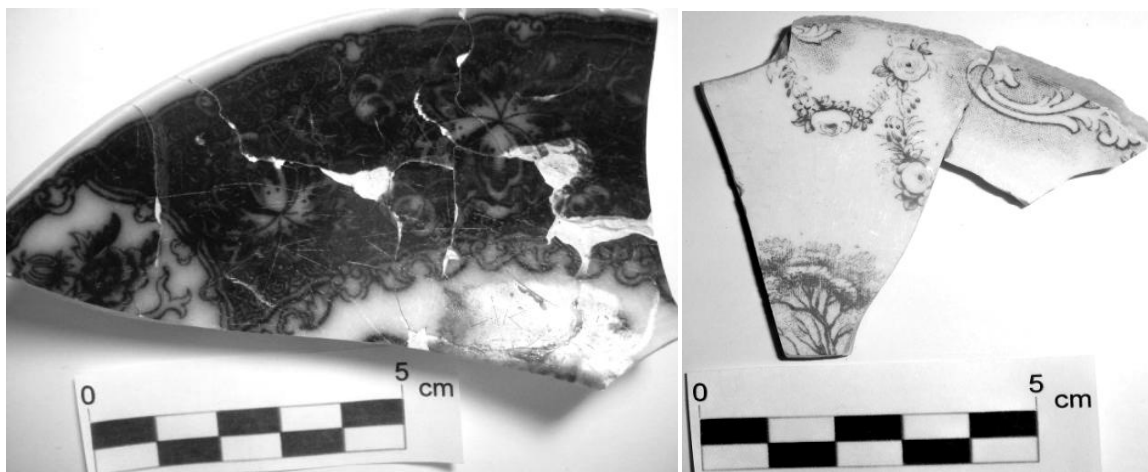


Figure 7.18 - Left: Flow Blue; Right: Spode/Copeland Continental Views

and is about 2/3 reconstructed (n=11). It has severe evidence of burning as many of the sherds are blackened. A single mug, of vitrified whiteware was recovered with a diameter of 7.5 cm. It is white, with a single black stripe, followed by a yellow/orange stripe encircling the rim on the outside. Some of the colour has disappeared. Finally a single egg cup was identified, made of white graniteware (Fig. 7.19 right). There are patches of gray and purple/pink on the body due to exposure to high temperatures and the base measures 4.5 cm in diameter.



Figure 7.19- Left: Deep bowl; Right: Egg cup

Household Industry: n=22

Cleaning: There are 11 items in this group, all from metal pails. There are five pail handles represented and two metal pail rims. The latter two measure 18 cm in diameter and are much rusted. Three pail seams are also represented by overlapping metal on a much larger scale than those coming from tin cans. Finally, two pieces of thin, flat metal sheets were recovered coming from the bodies of the pails. As five handles were recovered, there were a minimum of five pails in the store to be sold or used at the time of abandonment.

Laundry: There are only two items in this sub-group, both of which are springs from clothespins. They have small coiled bodies with each end extending out in a straight piece of wire. Both are rusted.

Sewing: There is a total of nine items in this sub-group. There are four long thin needles, all of which have broken eye-ends and measure between 2 ½ and 3 inches long. Three smaller, complete, round headed pins were also recovered, measuring 2.4 cm and 3 cm (x2) in length. A fourth similar pin was recovered but was broken mid-shaft and thus the length is unknown. Finally a single crochet hook or knitting needle was recovered, broken off at the non-pointed end and measuring 17.2 cm in length.

Household Maintenance and Furnishings: n=21

Hardware: There are 13 items in this group. Three metal rivets were recovered; two are broken off at the bottom but retain their flat round heads. The third is complete. A single iron pulley was recovered (Fig. 7.20 left) and lacks any decoration seen in some of the other pulleys recovered from the Baljennie garbage pit area. A flat metal tack was also found with its round head measuring 1 cm in diameter and its point-end broken off. A single small rusted screw is included in this group and has a metal ring looped through an eye hole in the top. It measures 1.6 cm long and the loop is 2.9 cm in diameter. Finally a brass grommet was found measuring 3.5 cm in diameter.

Several metal handles are included in the HBC Battleford collection. A heavy iron handle in a half moon shape was identified and measures 9.5 cm in length and 5.7 cm in width. Another is light-weight, rectangular in shape and measures 4 cm in width and 15.5 cm in length. It may



Figure 7.20 - Left: Pulley; Right: Hinge

have come from a wash basin due to its shape. An additional long, flat, rectangular handle was found and is broken at one end. Small projections at each end where the screws would attach it to the object are visible and overall it measures 16 cm long and is 2.6 cm wide. Another handle was recovered and appears to have come from a drawer due to its smaller size.

A small rusted lead hinge was found. It is half moon in shape on one side and rectangular on the other. Another highly rusted metal object is identified as the latch from a trunk. It is oblong in shape and has a hole in the center for where the back piece would fit through to lock.

Heating: There are five items in this group, most coming from an iron stove(s). There are two partial stove legs (Fig. 7.21 right), both containing embossed circles on their fronts and both curved in shape. Similar types of stove legs have been identified in the Sears Roebuck & Co. catalogue for 1897 (p. 133-141). A single heavy iron lid was found, with a circular hole in the centre, perhaps where the pipe fit into the chimney. It is oval in shape and measures 62.5 cm in length and 35.5 cm in width. A heavy iron face plate was also recovered. It is flat and rectangular in shape and has the following embossed: “M A-” and underneath “E.&C.-”. The manufacturer is yet to be identified. As these pieces may all have come from a single stove, it may not have been for sale but rather functioning to heating the store. Finally a poking stock was found, partially melted at one end.

Household Decoration: There is a single item in this group. Yellow paint flecks were recovered within a mixture of decaying wood and dirt. This is perhaps the colour that was used for the exterior of the store or somewhere inside; however, no documentary evidence has been found to support or refute this.

Lighting: There are two items in this group, both coming from coal oil lamps. They are the metal lamp burners (Fig. 7.21 left). One contains the lighter knob and stem going upwards, as well as a chunk of clear melted glass attached to it.



Figure 7.21 - Left: Lamp burner; Right: Stove leg

Education and Communication: n=10

Telecommunications: There are two items in this sub-group. The first is an envelope from the Government Telegraph Services (Fig. 7.22). It is addressed: “Corpl. Wood. Care McPherson store. New Wood Mountain. Sask”. There is nothing else written on the envelope and there is nothing inside to indicate the contents; however, due to the address it appears as though this was not the final destination for the telegraph. As the envelope had been well preserved it is proposed that this item was perhaps later donated to the Battleford collection. It is unlikely that such a fragile object would remain intact all these years. The second object is a white ceramic telegraph insulator, still screwed into the metal bar which measures 49 cm in length.

Writing: There are eight items in this group; three are pieces of gray slate. A pencil topper and eraser holder (known as a ferrule) have been identified and the remnants of a red eraser can be seen inside it. Similarly a red eraser was recovered; however, it is not the one to the pencil as it is larger and oval in shape. A round graphite cylinder was found, broken at one end but pointed at

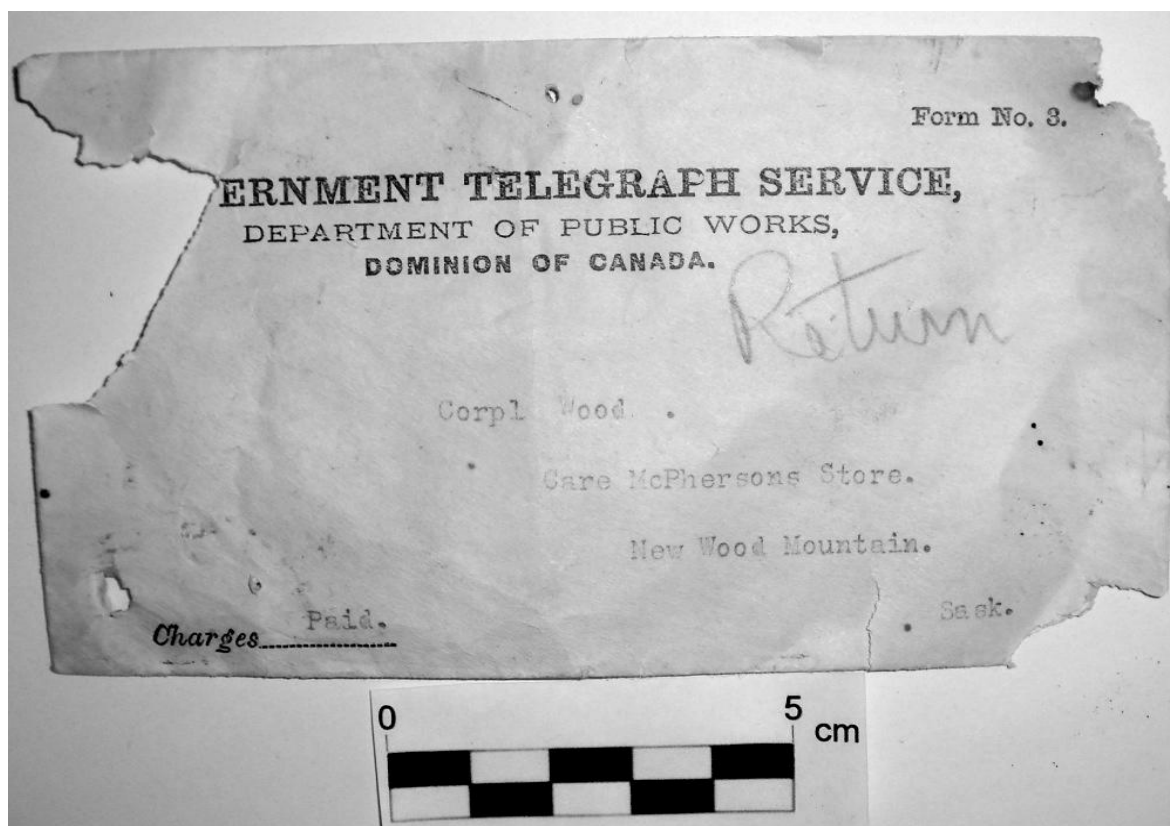


Figure 7.22 - Telegraph envelope

the other. A clear glass ink and water well container was identified, probably originally set into some sort of frame which is now gone (Fig. 7.23 right). There are no markings on it.

Finally, a Doulton Lambeth ink refill container was recovered (Fig. 7.23 left). It is stoneware, glazed brown with a spout top and measures 5.2 cm in diameter. “Doulton Lambeth” is stamped along the base of the body of the container. John Doulton began producing both practical and decorative stoneware pottery in 1815. From 1858 until his death, John directed Doulton & Co. Pottery in Lambeth, England during which time large amounts of sewer pipe were produced to improve the water quality during the 1864 epidemic (Royal Doulton 2010). John’s son Henry became an apprentice in 1835 and in 1887 he was knighted for his innovations in ceramic art. In 1884 porcelain and earthenwares were added to their repertoire and in 1901 Doulton was granted a charter under which they became “Royal” Doulton. After 1891 England was also added to their identifying stamp as a necessity under the Export Act. Stoneware items finally ceased production in 1956, at the Lambeth location (Royal Doulton 2010).



Figure 7.23 – Left: Doultton Lambeth ink refill container; Right: Ink and water well

Architectural: n=5132

Building Materials: There are 1,998 items in this group with the majority being window glass fragments, followed by pieces of brick, chinking and wood. As the buildings were burnt down, very little is left from the actual structures and what was found was very decayed and fragmented.

There are 62 pieces of fragmented brick ranging in colour from bright orange to gray brown. Striations can be seen in some of the surfaces. There were 35 pieces of chinking taken as samples; all are white in colour and contain inclusions of small stones (Fig. 7.24 bottom right). There is a total of 104 pieces of burnt wood recovered from the area. The majority of them are only badly burnt on one side; however, there were no large pieces recovered and thus most of the wood must have perished in the fire (Fig. 7.24 top left). Due to their fragmentary nature and lack of provenience it is difficult to say what the majority of the wood pieces may have been used for (fence vs. shelving vs. framework etc...). There was, however, record of some excavations done along the fence line which revealed remnants of fence posts (Perry 1972).

The rest of the category is made up of window glass, totalling 1,798 pieces. All are broken into small pieces; however, it appears as though numerous sheets of glass may have been

stored stacked on top of each other, as they were found fused together in big layered clumps (Fig. 7.24 left). Thus the store must have had window panes in stock at the time of the fire. Like other window glass found around the site, it is tinted an aqua-green colour, flat and has similar thicknesses.



Figure 7.24 – Left: Fused window glass; Right: Chinking fragments and burnt wood with nail

Construction Hardware: There is a total of 3,112 items in this sub-category, with the majority made up of varying lengths of plain square head nails (Fig. 7.25 left). As the original 1972 project included an extensive study of the recovered nails, the same terminology (e.g. head styles) has been applied in this study. Photographic examples and descriptions of each nail head type can be found in appendix 5 to avoid any confusion in classification and to allow for future comparisons.

Most of the nails are machine cut, meaning they were produced from a piece of uniform ferrous metal hand fed through a shearing machine. This produced nails of uniform thickness which displayed two parallel and two tapered sides. Machine cut nails were hand headed until 1825 when a machine took over producing square uniform heads, easily recognizable (Adams 2002). Machine cut nails were produced between 1850 and 1888, after which they were slowly replaced by wire nails (Fontana et al. 1962). There were a few round wire nails found at the site (Fig. 7.25 right), which date from the 1850s to present (see below for more details on wire nails).

The following description of nail varieties refers to machine cut nails with square shanks. The following numbers of plain square head nails (n=2174) were recovered: 5/8": 7, 7/8": 3, 3/4": 10, 1": 52, 1 1/16": 1, 1 1/8": 1, 1 3/8": 1, 1 1/4": 54, 1 1/2": 1283, 1 3/4": 11, 2": 62, 2 5/8": 1, 2

$\frac{1}{4}$ " : 32, $2\frac{1}{2}$ " : 324, $2\frac{3}{4}$ " : 6 3 " : 226, $3\frac{1}{4}$ " : 13, $3\frac{1}{2}$ " : 42, $3\frac{3}{4}$ " : 2, 4" : 24, $4\frac{1}{2}$ " : 1, 5" : 15 and 6" : 3. There are an additional 226 plain head nails which were broken along the shaft.



Figure 7.25 - Left: Plain square head cut nails; Right: Round wire nail

Rosehead nails are the next largest group (n= 257) and are broken down into the following lengths: $7/8$ " : 3, 1" : 2, $1\frac{3}{8}$ " : 1, $1\frac{1}{4}$ " : 6, $1\frac{1}{2}$ " : 201, $1\frac{3}{4}$ " : 5, 2" : 21, $2\frac{1}{4}$ " : 6, $2\frac{1}{2}$ " : 2, $2\frac{3}{4}$ " : 2, 3" : 6 and $4\frac{1}{2}$ " : 2. Again there are an additional 15 rosehead nails which were broken along the shaft.

Next the flaring dome head nails (n=94) are broken into the following lengths: $1\frac{3}{4}$ " : 4, 2" : 2, $2\frac{1}{4}$ " : 3, $2\frac{1}{2}$ " : 61, $2\frac{3}{4}$ " : 1 and 3" : 23. As with the other types, an additional 7 broken flaring dome head nails were recovered.

There is a total of 50 circle die head nails, all measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in length. Very similar to this type is the die head (square vs. circular) nail (n=47) which were found in the following lengths: 3" : 1, $3\frac{1}{2}$ " : 6, 4" : 29, $4\frac{1}{2}$ " : 1, 5" : 6, $5\frac{1}{2}$ " : 2 and 6" : 2. There are an additional 27 broken die head nails.

Quarter head nails (n=40) are grouped into the following lengths: 1" : 2, $1\frac{5}{8}$ " : 1, $1\frac{1}{4}$ " : 4, $1\frac{1}{2}$ " : 8, $1\frac{3}{4}$ " : 4, 2" : 4, $2\frac{1}{8}$ " : 1, $2\frac{3}{8}$ " : 1, $2\frac{5}{8}$ " : 7, $2\frac{1}{2}$ " : 5, $3\frac{1}{4}$ " : 2 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " : 1. An additional two broken quarter head nails were recovered at the site.

Fewer broad head nails were recovered (n=23) and are broken down as follows: $5/8$ " : 1, $7/8$ " : 1, $3/4$ " : 1, 1" : 5, $1\frac{1}{8}$ " : 2, $1\frac{3}{8}$ " : 1, $1\frac{1}{4}$ " : 5, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ " : 7. Only a single broken broad head was recovered. Clasp head nails are also few (n=13) and can be broken down into these lengths: 1" : 2, $1\frac{1}{2}$ " : 3, $2\frac{1}{4}$ " : 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ " : 6. Three broken clasp head nails were found in addition to these whole nails.

A total of four flaring headless nails were recovered and represent one of each of the following lengths: $7/8$ ", 2", $2\frac{1}{4}$ " and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". Three platform head nails were also found, two

measuring 1 ½” in length and one measuring 1 ¼” long. An additional two round head cut nail were discovered, both measuring 1 ¼” in length. A single L head nail was recovered, measuring 1” in length.

In summary the majority of the nails recovered from the Battleford HBC site are machine cut nails with plain square heads, measuring 1 ½” in length (n=1283). Square head nails measuring 2 ½” (n=324) and 3” (n=226) in length are also present in higher quantities. Finally 1 ½” rosehead nails are also common (n=201) at the site.

The following discussion describes round wire nails found at the site. Manufactured from steel wire, the nails were held by grippers and headed, after which the wire was advanced and sheared off at the desired length (Fontana et al. 1962). The earliest wire nails were small and not used for construction until their increase in length during the last quarter of the 19th century (Adams 2002). It was not until the late 1880s that the wire nail began to supercede the cut nail due to their lower manufacturing costs (Priess 1973). Thus the transition from cut to wire nails was not rapid and cut nails were often preferred due to their superior holding power, making them common into the 20th century (Fontana et al. 1962). Only 48 wire nails were present at the Battleford HBC site.

All of the wire nails (n=48) are present in the following lengths: 1 3/16”: 1, 1 1/8”: 1, 1 3/8”: 2, 1 5/8”: 2, 1 7/8”: 2, 1 ¼”: 1, 1 ½”: 12, 1 ¾”: 2, 2”: 5, 2 1/16”: 1, 2 1/8”: 1, 2 5/8”: 2, 2 ¼”: 2, 2 ½”: 3, 4”: 1 and 4 1/8”: 1. There are an additional four broken round head wire nails.

In addition to round shanks, there are also several nail types with triangular cross-sections. There is a total of four round headed nails, two measuring 1 7/8”, one measuring 2” and an additional measuring 2 ¼” in length. A single round head, triangular shank broken nail was also found. The rest of the triangular shanks have roseheads and measure the following in length: 1 ½”: 1 and 2 ¼”: 5. There are an additional three broken rosehead, triangular shank nails.

In addition to the previous complete nails, numerous broken nails were discovered. There is a total of 21 broken square nails with indeterminate heads, 193 broken nails without heads, a single triangular cross-section nail without a head and three wire nails without heads. Three nails have indeterminate heads and lengths and were found in the following materials: melted glass, a tin sheet and a piece of wood.

A single roofing nail was identified consisting of a large plain square head and measuring 1” in length. A single tack was also recovered with a domed head measuring 1.9 cm in diameter

and a square shank measuring $\frac{1}{2}$ " in length.

Screws were also fairly commonly found ($n=9$), all with flat heads and can be broken into the following lengths: $\frac{3}{4}$ " : 8, 1" : 6, $1\frac{1}{4}$ " : 6, $1\frac{1}{2}$ " : 5, 2" : 3 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ " : 1. Three broken screws were also recovered at the site. In addition to screws, bolts were also found ($n=10$) mostly heavily rusted and broken. There are four broken dome head bolts, a single 5" long dome head bolt, as well as a 5" rosehead, square shank bolt with screw threads nearing the bottom, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ " dome head bolt with a square washer near the base and a round one near the top. A single triangular head bolt, with a shank that widens in the middle and measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in length was recovered, along with a broken square head bolt and a broken six-sided head (or rosehead) also with a washer around its shank.

Door Hardware: There is a total of 12 items in this sub-group. There are two white porcelain door knobs; both are smooth and have a hole in the back where the hardware would have attached (Fig. 7.26 left). Another door handle was identified; however, this one is brass and fairly lightweight, again with a hole in the back for hardware. Two door locks were recovered; the first has the front metal panel with the key hole and most of the lock still attached at the back (Fig. 7.26 right). The second is very similar and has three screws still in it. Whether these were the locks from the store doors or they were for sale is difficult to determine. A total of five door hinges were found, all generally rectangular in shape and all fairly heavy and strong. One of the hinges is rectangular in shape on the one side but circular on the other side.

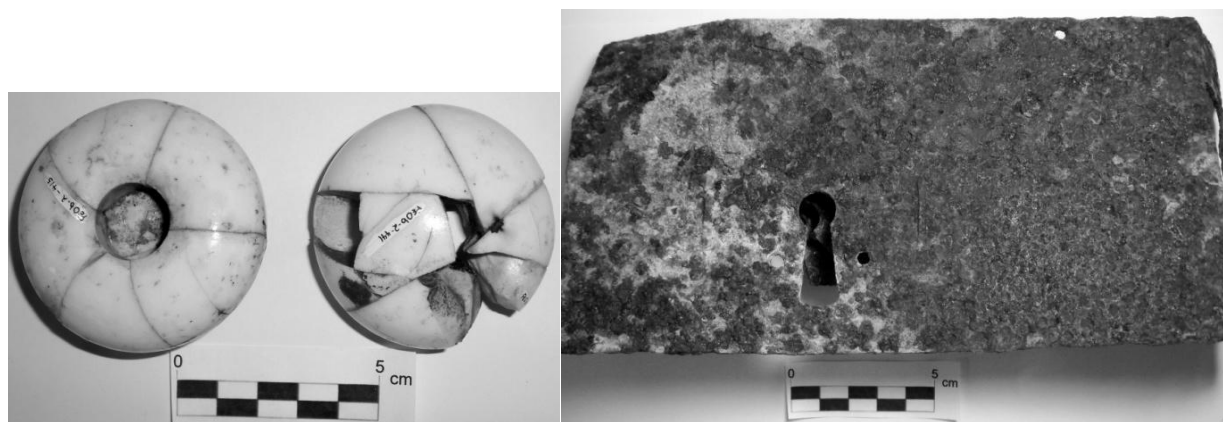


Figure 7.26- Left: Porcelain door knobs; Right: Door lock

General Hardware: There is a total of 10 items in this sub-group representative of a variety of

functions. There are four washer-shaped objects, flat, thin and circular in shape. They have a single square hole in the center with two smaller circular holes on either side of it. They measure 3 cm in diameter and two of them have $\frac{3}{4}$ " screws going through the holes. A single eye screw was recovered and is broken and heavily rusted. Four staples were identified, three measuring $\frac{1}{2}$ " in length while the fourth is much more substantial in nature, being made of thick iron. It is also in a U shape and has pointed ends. Finally a rusted, round washer was recovered measuring 1.2 cm in diameter.

Agricultural and Animal Husbandry: n=131

Animal Tack: There is a total of 18 items in this group, mostly relating to the use of horses or oxen. There are five used horseshoes with bent nails through them (Fig. 7.27 left). On average the shoes are 9 cm in width and highly rusted. A single horse shoes nail was found, measuring 2" in length and is much rusted but straight. There are five leather pieces identified as being part of a saddle or saddle bag due to an impressed flowery pattern in the leather. Similar patterns were seen on saddles available in the Sears Roebuck & Co. catalogue of 1897 (p. 673). A similar piece of leather, with a leafy pattern stamped into it was also recovered and is perhaps from the same item. A single bolster plate (wagon part) was also identified from the Sears 1897 catalogue. It consists of a heavy, flat, rectangular iron piece with three holes along the middle of its length. Four small buckles were recovered, mostly rusted, resembling those used in fastening harnesses or bridles for horses. They measure 3 cm in length and 3.5 cm in width. A single harness bell was found (Fig. 7.27 right), made of brass with an unidentifiable pattern engraved into the bottom portion of the bell. It has a diameter of 4.5 cm.

Farm Implements: There is a total of 113 items in this group, with the majority consisting of scythe blade handles (n=51). They measure 16 cm in length and consist of one looped end of metal and one threaded end with a washer on it (Fig. 7.28). They are all much rusted and some even crumble to the touch. There are 13 scythe blade attachment pieces, which held the snath (handle) and the blade together (Fig. 7.29).

There are two sizes of scythes identified. The first (n=9) measures 118 cm in length and 8 cm in width. The blades are double grooved along the top back side and the small metal handle



Figure 7.27 - Left: Horseshoe and nail; Right: Harness Bbell



Figure 7.28 - Scythe handle



Figure 7.29 - Scythe blade attachments

portion points almost straight out (vs. downwards in the smaller sized scythe) (Fig.30). Along the handle the following is inscribed: “Wellandvale Manu. St. Catharines Ont”. These scythes were thus, imported from eastern Canada. The company began in 1869 under the name of Tuttle, Date and Rodden, and consisted of an agricultural and edge tool factory. In 1874, the plant was purchased by William J. Chaplin and he renamed it the Welland Vale Manufacturing Company. Although suffering from a disastrous fire in 1877, the company re-built and continued to be successful until their amalgamation with three other companies in 1899 to form Canada Cycle & Motor Co. Ltd (Green Belt 2010).

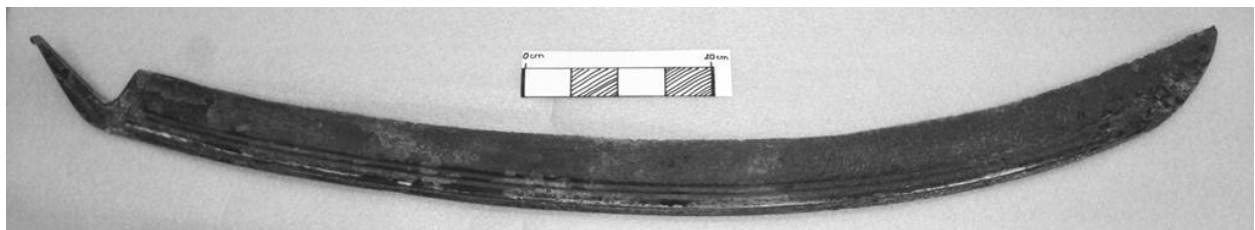


Figure 7.30 – Large size scythe (scale in 5 cm increments)

The second size of scythe (n=8) measures 97 cm in length and 4.5 cm in width. It has only a single groove along the top backside and the handle points downwards from the blade. There is no inscription to indicate the manufacturer or place of origin. There is also a single broken scythe measuring 73 cm in length which has a single groove along its top backside, thus identifying it as one of the smaller-sized scythes. Another one measures 50 cm in length, with a single groove along the top. With these two items the total becomes ten smaller scythes and nine larger ones.

As with the scythes, there are two sizes of sickles (Fig.31). The first (n=23) measures 61.5 cm in length and 2.5 cm in width. This type has a much finer blade as opposed to the other size. There are no marks to identify the manufacturer. The second size of sickle (n=4) is thicker in the blade, measuring 4 cm in width and 59 cm in length. Two of the sickles have the following impressed in the metal near the handle: “W.FOX” with a “U” on the other side. As all the sickles this size appear identical and they are all highly rusted, it is most likely that they all came from the same manufacturer but that the emblem has been rusted away. Research has shed very little light on this manufacturing company. It was recorded in the 1870 census of Derbyshire (UK), pertaining to Ridgeway, that a Stephen and William Fox manufactured sickles (Bowler 2006).

William Fox also appears in the 1860 census as a scythe and sickle manufacturer, while Stephen Fox appears in the 1880 census as a farmer and sickle maker (Bowler 2006). It is unknown if the sickles in this collection are from the same manufacturer.

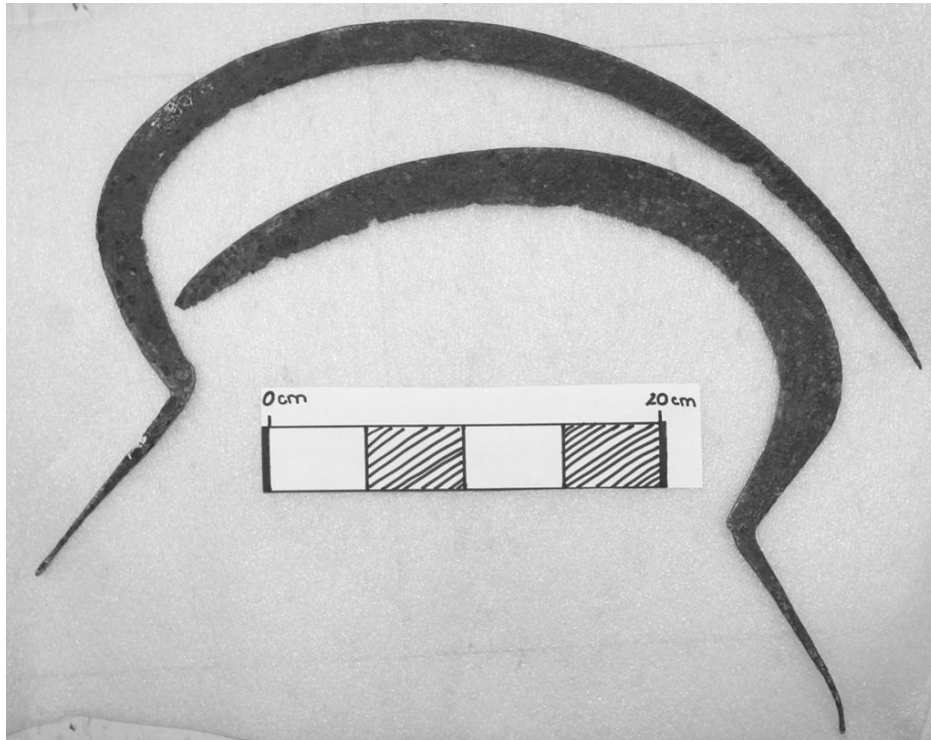


Figure 7.31 – Two sizes of sickles

A single hay fork with two tines was identified, measuring 28 cm in length. The wooden handle is not present. A single tine was also recovered, perhaps from a similar fork but is broken and measures only 13.5 cm in length. Both items are much rusted. Finally a circular, thick, iron cuff was recovered and has been identified the object which mounts a wheel onto the axle of an ox cart (hub).

Farm Industry: n=33

General Tools: There is a total of 12 artifacts in this group, with over half (n=6) consisting of rusted file fragments (Fig .7.32). They are triangular in cross-section and none are complete, making it impossible to determine whether one or multiple files are represented by these pieces.

A single awl was recovered, measuring 10.16 cm in length and is pointed at one end and



Figure 7.32 - Metal file with triangular cross-section

flat at the other. As it is severely rusted it is difficult to tell if it is broken or complete. A rusted iron tool, resembling a wrench was recovered; however, this wrench has a working end at both ends for two different sized bolts. It measures 17.5 cm in length. Another interesting tool, again of rusted iron, has tapered ends with a slightly curved square shaft. It measures 14 cm in length and appears to be some sort of a pry tool. A similarly rusted iron tool had a round shaft, with tapered ends which are rotated 90° from each other. It appears as though it may have been used to tighten something, as the ends resemble flat head screw drivers. It measures 14.5 cm in length. All three of these tools were found together as if they were a set (Fig. 7.33). No identifying manufacture marks were found.



Figure 7.32 - Tool set

There is a single rusted shovel handle measuring 25.5 cm in length. The remnants of the wooden shaft can be seen pushed into the hollow metal tube. Finally a heavy drifting pick head was recovered (Fig. 7.35). It measures 62.5 cm in length and has a large oval hole in its center where the wooden handle would have attached.



Figure 7.34 - Drifting pick head (scale in 1 cm increments)

Woodworking: There is a total of 21 items in this sub-group. The most common tool is the hand saw (n=9) (Fig. 7.36). They measure 65 cm in length and 18.5 cm in width. The wooden handles are not present; however, four brass bolts are in the holes and would have been used to secure the handle. The words "WARRANTED SUPERIOR Pat. DEC 31. 1867" encircling an eagle can be seen on the surface of the brass bolt heads and has been identified as coming from saw manufacturer Henry Disston. He began selling saws in 1840 out of a rented basement in Philadelphia and soon became the largest manufacturer of saws in the world (Sneidern 2010). Disston began to produce his own steel in 1855, and prevented competing companies from achieving similar success (Silcox 1994).

A single, smaller saw was recovered measuring 50.5 cm in length and 13 cm in width. This saw has only two holes for the handle to be attached and has been broken into two pieces. Another single saw, measuring 71.5 cm in length and 18.5 cm in width was found. No screws are attached and thus just the four holes are present for the handle. Another smaller saw, measuring 39.5 cm in length and 12 cm in width was identified. There is a loop at the handle end, perhaps to secure a wooden handle. The teeth are triangular and the blade tapers to the handle. There are three broken saw blades, the first missing both ends and measuring 16.5cm in width. The second is missing the handle end, while the third appears to have been a double handled saw (one at

each end) and has a loop at one end where a handle would have been secured. This last saw measures 16.5 cm in width and 89 cm in length although it is broken.

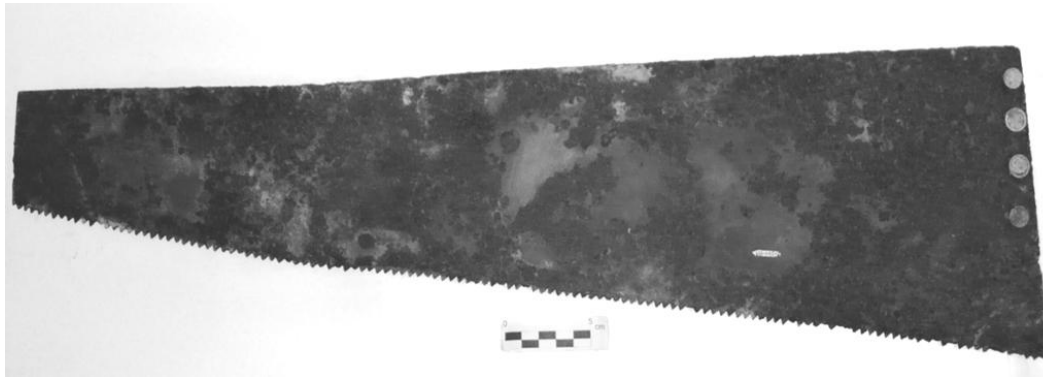


Figure 7.35 - Henry Disston hand saw (scale in 1 cm increments)

There are three ice saws present, all are complete (Fig. 7.36). The first has elongated serrated teeth and measures 165.5 cm in length and 25.4 cm in width tapering down to 7.6 cm in width. It has two square holes in the handle end (wider end), and the blade is bent and rusted. The second saw is 184 cm in length and the teeth stop short of the full length. There are two square holes at the handle end, like the first saw. The last ice saw has triangular serrated teeth and measures 182.9 cm in length and 25.4 cm in width tapering down to 7.6 cm. It has two rectangular holes in the handle end, with a circular hole in either end. This saw like the others is also bent and rusted.

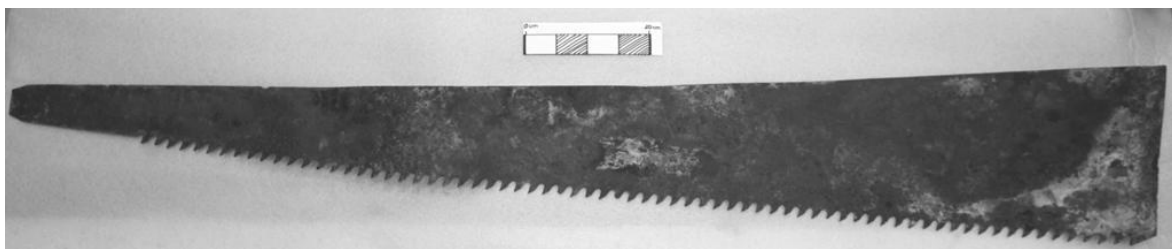


Figure 7.36 - Ice saw (scale in 5 cm increments)

There are two axe heads in the collection. The first measures 15 cm in length and 11 cm in width and is very heavy. There remains a piece of charred wood where the handle inserts into the axe head. The second axe is larger measuring 20cm in length and 12cm in width. This has been classified as a broadaxe (Fig. 7.37). Both are much rusted and bits of metal are flaking off.



Figure 7.37 - Broadaxe head

Defence and Hunting: n=61

Ammunition: There are 57 items in this group. The majority (n=36) of the artifacts are pieces of lead shot. They vary in size from 3 mm diameter to 5 mm diameter. There are six shotgun casings; four appear to have come from the same company (Fig.7.38). The heads measure 2.2 cm in diameter with the following engraved respectively: “N ELEY BROs O LONDON”, “LONDON 12”, “BRO”, “LONDON –ELEY 450”. The Eley Brothers were established in 1828, in London and are still in business today (Eley Brothers 1886; Steinhauer 2010). The other two shotgun cases are from a second company and have the following engraved into their heads: “N0. UNM Co. 12 SG”. Both are identical and measure 2.2 cm in diameter. These casings represent the Union Metallic Company, which operated from 1867-1911 out of Bridgeport, Connecticut. After that it was combined with Remington to form the REM-UMC Company (Union Metallic Company 1890; Steinhauer 2010). There are an additional 10 casing fragments and judging from their composition and size they were shotgun casings as well. The bodies range in size from 1.7 cm to 2.1 cm in diameter and all lack the head portion.

There are two rimfire cartridge casings, both from the same company, Winchester Repeating Arms Co., operating from 1866-2006 in New Haven, Connecticut (Winchester Repeating Arms Company 1884; Steinhauer 2010). The Company originated as Volcanic Repeating Arms Co. after which it was re-organized into New Haven Arms Co. with Oliver Winchester being the largest stockholder. After the civil war, Winchester exercised his control of

the company and re-named it Winchester Repeating Arms Company. In 2006, after several more changes to the company, it was announced that the factory in New Haven was to be closed after 140 years of operation. The recovered cartridge cases have an “H” stamped into the centre of their heads and both measure 1.3 cm in diameter, much smaller than the centrefires. The H stands for Benjamin Tyler Henry, an American gunsmith and manufacturer who in the late 1850s perfected the early rimfire cartridges and supervised the redesign of the rifle to accommodate the new ammunition. This rifle became known as the Henry of 1860, manufactured by the New Haven Arms Co. The later Winchester rifle Model 1866 was modified and improved from this earlier form (Logan 1959). Finally, two lead musket balls were recovered, one measuring 1 cm in diameter, while the other measures 1.4 cm in diameter.



Figure 7.38 - From Top Left: Eley Bros. Shotgun case, U.M.C. Shotgun case, Eley Bros. Shotgun case, musket ball, Henry Winchester Rimfire cartridge cases

Arms: There are four items in this group; three are iron single barrels coming from shotguns. The first measures 62.5 cm in length, has both rear and front sights on the barrel but is broken off where it would attach to the receiver. The next one is smaller, measuring 58.5 cm in length and also has both rear and front sights along the barrel. The last barrel is little rusted and measures

76.5 cm in length. There are three sights along the length of this barrel and it is shiny silver in colour as if it has been cleaned.



Figure 7.39 - Gun barrels (scale in 1 cm increments)

Finally there was a revolver holster recovered in very good condition and made out of leather (Fig. 7.40). On the inside of the case are the following words written in what looks like ink: “L* J.M.POLLOCK 4 KOSB”. The initials “J.M.P” are repeated in various locations on the case and on the outside the following has been neatly written: “B.64.14.597” (perhaps from the original excavation).

Research indicates there was a John M. Pollock who fought in the North-West Resistance in the Battleford area, and his obituary is located in the Glenbow Museum, Calgary, in a scrapbook done by Jesse DeGear, the daughter of P.G. Laurie (owner/editor of the Saskatchewan Herald in Battleford) (DeGear 1937 M-314-27c). The obituary states that Pollock moved to Moffat, Sk in 1882 to take up homesteading, after having helped build the right-of-way for the C.P.R. in Winnipeg. During the Resistance he served as transport driver under General Middleton. Having survived this, he married and opened a sawmill on the Nakota River, between Canora and Sturgis. Pollock was born in Lachute, near Montreal of Irish and Scot parentage. It remains impossible to confirm if the revolver case did in fact belong to this John Pollock. Due to the extremely good preservation of this item it is likely that it was a later deposit to the collection.



Figure 7.40 - Revolver case (scale in 1 cm increments)

Fishing and Trapping: n=6

Fishing Tackle: There are four items in this sub-group, all fishhooks. They are all identical, shaped in a basic J with a barb at the curved end and an eye at the other where the line is fastened. They are all highly rusted but complete.

Trapping Gear: There are two items in this group, both are fragments of a trap. Both are fairly small and thus would not have functioned in trapping large animals.

Unclassifiable Materials: n=890

Unclassifiable Glass: There is a total of 629 unclassifiable glass sherds. Most are highly melted due to the burning of the site. These sherds also exhibit no evidence of seams from bottle moulds, or any resemblance to finishes or bases which would indicate some sort of glass container. Some of the items are in fact fused together with various colours of glass. There are 228 melted light green sherds, 323 melted aqua color sherds, 10 melted amber sherds, 5 melted robin's egg blue sherds, 28 melted olive green sherds, 11 thin milk glass sherds, 15 clear sherds and 9 sherds made up of fused aqua and amber glass.

Unclassifiable Leather: There are two items in this sub-group. The first is a thin strip of leather, perhaps once belonging to a bridle or harness but no longer retaining any distinguishing traits. The second item is a circular piece of leather, with a hole in the middle and four nails penetrating through the leather at various points.

Unclassifiable Metal: There are 226 items in this group, mainly small tin fragments, most likely from tin cans. There is a total of 166 small flat tin fragments recovered, 5 iron fragments and a single lead fragment. Additionally there are 13 pieces of metal strapping ranging in width from 2.7 cm to 6 cm. There are 24 pieces of thin wire of various small sizes and a single, almost complete, lead ring. Three thin, flat, lead circular pieces were recovered, two of which had a small hole just off centre and measure 1.9 cm in diameter. There are four metal tube-like objects, ranging from 0.5 cm in diameter to 2.8 cm in diameter, as well as two squared tapered rods. One measures 16.2 cm in length while the other is broken and ends in a fork shape; however, the tines are not there and the metal is very thick as compared to a normal fork. There are four flat, rectangular to square shaped pieces of metal, all with holes through them in various locations. A single round thick piece of metal with an oval hole in its center was recovered, along with a metal plate with two screws going through it measuring 2.5 cm in width.

Unclassifiable Plastic: There was only a single piece of unclassifiable plastic which resembles the toe of a shoe with small holes around the sides. The item is hard, black and fragmentary. It is a later addition to the site and thus represents post depositional mixing.

Unclassifiable Rock: There were 31 pieces of rock recovered. Eleven look as though they may have been heat treated as they are a creamy colour and almost waxy. All of the pieces are amorphous in shape with no distinguishing features. There are also two pieces of a brown stone, triangular in shape. Another 13 small stones were recovered, with no distinguishing characteristics. Two pieces of dark brown rock were found along with an additional three pieces of flat thin stone, gray in colour.

Unclassifiable Wood: There was a single piece of unclassifiable wood. All of the other wood is classified in the Building Material group because they are believed to be pieces of the original structure and fence. This single piece of wood is charred and very fragmentary and was found in a bag labelled “axe handle”. There are no distinguishing features indicating this function and thus it has been placed in the Unclassifiable group.

Unclassified: n=1692

Unclassified Ceramics: There is a total of 583 items in this sub-group. All are highly fragmentary and with little indication as to their former function. The majority of the identified patterns are also present in the Tableware group; however, in this case the vessel remains unidentifiable. It is likely that the majority of this group belongs to the Tableware group but they cannot be confirmed as such. As with the Tableware group, the vast majority of the items are of whiteware and have Spode/Copeland patterns.

There is a total of 71 sherds with the *Honeysuckle* pattern, (59 body sherds, 10 rim sherds and two thin broken handle sherds). There are two rims sherds with the Spode/Copeland *Pearl* pattern which dates from post 1850 to post 1882 and another two sherds have the *Continental Views* pattern (one rim sherd and one body sherd). There are 26 *Broseley* patterned sherds (18 body and 8 rim) from Spode/Copeland and seven sherds with the *Coronal* pattern, similar to the serving dish; however, resembling some sort of deeper bowl. The sherds are thick and the pattern is on the outside of the curved sherds. There are 36 sherds with an unidentified red pattern noted in the Tableware group (22 body sherds and 14 rim sherds). There are also 30 flow blue sherds (23 rim and 7 body sherds).

In addition to identifiable patterns, there are also numerous sherds with patterns too fragmentary to identify. There are two sherds with a single purple strip through them and seven sherds with a sponge-applied blue floral pattern on both sides of the sherds (most likely a bowl or cup where both inside and outside would be visible). A single body sherd with a brown arrow pattern was recovered, along with a single sherd with light purple leafy pattern. There are five body sherds with a brown leafy pattern as well as five sherds with a slight flow blue type pattern on them (one rim, four body). Six body sherds display a blue and brown stripe pattern and an additional three sherds have with an unidentifiable blue pattern on them. There are four sherds with a hunter-green pattern of leaves and rope along the rim and finally seven sherds with a spiky blue flower pattern on them.

Numerous white ceramic sherds were also recovered and show no distinguishing marks. There is a total of 281 white body sherds, 12 rim sherds, 21 base/footring sherds, one handle sherd, and nine white body sherds with evidence of burning through discoloration. There are an additional four sherds which are gray-white in colour and another two are blue-white in colour. The stem of a white possible egg cup was also recovered.

Several styles of embossing are identified; the majority are wheat sheaves (n=5). There are two sherds with an embossed rope pattern, five with circling rings and two with scalloped edges. There are four sherds with partial back-stamps on them, the first displays the following: “RSL” in black. Two other sherds contain partial unidentifiable crests in black. The final sherd displays the following: “Copeland” followed by a crown and “p-od” written in brown.

A total of six sherds of porcelain were recovered, all different. There is a single rim sherd with a pink edge and some unidentifiable embossing, along with a single curved sherd with a pink stripe running through it. Three sherds are all white in colour (one body sherd and two footring sherds). Finally a small rim sherd was identified as having an unidentified colour stripe worn off it. A single piece of vitrified whiteware was also present: a rim sherd with a thin gold ring around the edge. Lastly, two sherds of stoneware were recovered, both body sherds with a mottled dark brown glaze on them.

Unclassified Glass: There is a total of 21 items in this sub-group, most are decorated sherds of glass and therefore may have come from numerous types of vessels or decorative objects. There are two thick, clear pieces of decorative glass with a pressed flower design. Placed together they are round in shape and look like they may have been part of a perfume bottle or decorative container. In addition a clear piece of glass with a pressed diamond pattern was also found. Two light purple pieces of glass were recovered; one with a scalloped rim and a pattern of embossed arches and diamonds and the other with an embossed tear drop. Two piece of clear curved glass were found, both part of a smooth rim which may have been a drinking glass. Finally, 14 pieces of milk glass were recovered, thick and curved, perhaps belonging to a cosmetic type container.

Unclassified Glass Container: There is a total of 936 items in this sub-group; most are fragments of glass bottles (Fig. 7.41). There are two pieces of thick milk glass (both partial bases), with the following stamped into their bases respectively: “-RG- CHE” underneath, and “MACLAR-”. A total of four pieces of light purple glass was found: one cup bottom mould base, one tooled finish, two body sherds and one with the following embossed into it: “E’S” with “TS” below it. There are 27 pieces of light green glass, 25 body sherds, one melted unidentifiable finish and one body sherd with the following embossed: “NR”. There are 36 amber pieces of glass: 31 body sherds, one partial melted base, an applied finish (Fig. 7.41 right), two machine-made finishes

and a complete amber bottle also machine-made. The presence of machine-made bottles indicates that these items were later added to the HBC site and thus pos-depositional mixing occurred.

There is a total 165 pieces of clear glass; the majority are body sherds (n=157). There is a single melted unidentifiable finish, two partial applied finished, one round cup bottom mould base, two pieces of a narrow, thin vial-like container, a single bottle stopper and one machine-made finish. There are 276 pieces of aqua coloured glass, again the majority are body sherds (n=247). There are eight applied finishes, two tooled finishes, one melted unidentifiable finish, one melted neck piece, three pieces of rectangular side paneling of which one has the following embossed: “DE”. There is also a single shoulder/neck sherd, eight round cup bottom mould bases, four rectangular cup bottom mould bases and a bottle stopper recovered.



Figure 7.41 -Examples of unclassified glass containers

There is a total of 211 olive colour glass pieces; 173 are body sherds. There are five highly melted partial bases, a single partial push-up base, eight partial body/base sherds, three partial unidentifiable finishes, seven applied finishes, four tooled finishes, five shoulder/neck fragments with seams from a Rickett's mould (Fig. 7.42 left) and four neck sherds. There is also a single partially reconstructed lower part of a bottle, without a push-up base.



Figure 7.42 – Left: Rickett's mould seams; Right: Applied finish

Finally there are 215 pieces of dark olive green glass, and as with the other groups the majority are body sherds (n=193). There are three body sherds with seams of a Rickett's mould, three applied finishes, a single tooled finish, three melted bases (one has an "8" embossed on the bottom), a single partial neck sherd, four partial push-up bases (one with a "2" embossed on the bottom) and three non-push-up bases (one represents the bottom half of a bottle with seams from a Rickett's mould and a "1" on the bottom). There are also four sherds with an orange peel texture on the outer surface.

Unclassified Metal: There is a total of 153 items in this sub-group. All of them are highly rusted and near complete; however, their functions are unknown. Most numerous (n=47) are metal pieces of strapping with holes running along the center. They resemble barrel straps. Plain metal strapping fragments are the next numerous (n=37). These vary in thickness but are all much rusted. There are also two wider bands, measuring 3.2 cm and 4 cm in width with holes down the center. Numerous (n=14) pieces of tin sheeting were recovered with nail holes in them. There are eight heavy, thick iron cuffs measuring 5.6 cm in diameter (Fig. 7.43 left). Each is thicker on one side (3.2 cm in width) than on the other (2.4 cm in width). In addition to these cuffs, there is

another measuring 3.9 cm in diameter and 2 cm in width and looks to have fit over a joint of some sort.

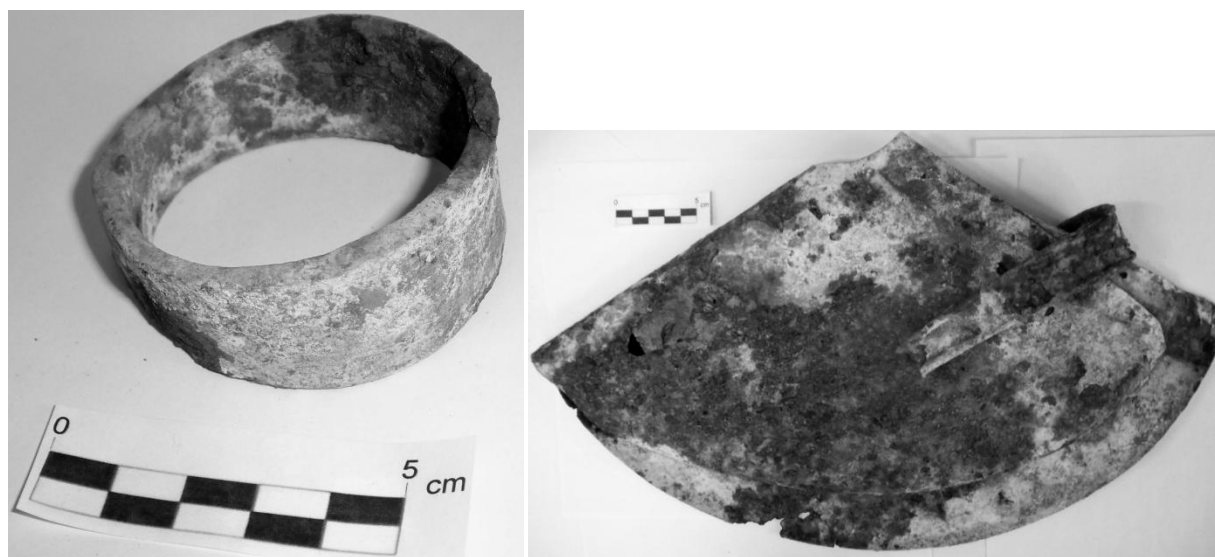


Figure 7.43 –Left: Metal cuff; Right: Unknown farm implement? (scale in 1 cm increments)

There is a single flat metal object with a round raised ring on it and the numbers “17-” embossed on it. A metal disc was recovered with a central hole, measuring 28.5 cm in diameter. On either side of the hole are tabs, as if to hold something in place.

Several cap-like objects were recovered from the site. There is a round metal cap-like object measuring 4.2 cm in diameter with pleated sides. A second one is more of a dome-top and has a hole in the middle with two smaller ones on either side of it. The entire diameter is 12.5 cm. Another domed object with a slit down the middle was recovered and measures 2.5 cm in diameter. A complete metal container-like object was found, greenish in colour, measuring 5.5 cm in diameter at its base and tapering to a threaded top for a cap. A single metal domed cap was found, measuring 14 cm in diameter. It may have fitted into a base.

A narrow, metal u-shaped object of wire was found (some sort of pin?) and another u-shaped object with hooked ends curving in opposite directions. There is a rusted metal sieve fragment with a potential diameter of 13 cm based on the size of the arc edge. This may be a flour sieve or some sort of sifter. A round metal spool-like object was also recovered, greenish in color. There is a heavy rusted iron broken object, rectangular in shape with two hooks on it. A single rusted key-like object was recovered. One end is oval-shaped with a stem extending out,

measuring 6 cm in length. A small, greenish, rectangular object is open on one side with two metal bars spanning the distance. Another tube-like item was recovered, measuring 2.8 cm in length and 0.9 cm in diameter. A single piece of thicker wire, resembling a pail handle was recovered; however, it is incomplete.

Four complete rusted barrel hoops were recovered ranging from 35 cm in diameter to 55 cm in diameter. Another smaller barrel hoop was recovered measuring 20.5 cm in diameter; however, it is broken. Two small, broken oval rings were recovered, resembling the lip of a container. Another ring, measuring 2.4 cm in diameter was found (part of a bridle or harness?), and may have functioned in a wide variety of ways. A heavy iron flat u-shaped item was recovered along with a similarly, flat tear-dropped shaped one. There are also two very small broken metal bars, both with square washers around them. A flaring metal tube was found measuring 1.7 cm in diameter and widening to 2.7 cm in diameter, while another metal tube (this time flattened) measuring 15.5 cm in length and 3.5 cm in diameter was also recovered. A long rusted metal object was discovered with a tab at one end and a strap extending 18.5 cm in length. Two metal corner re-enforcers were recovered; both are broken off with holes running down the center. A single metal plate, with a hole in each corner, along with two additional holes in the center was also found.

A large rusted disc was found with a handle, folded in half and measuring 43 cm in diameter. It might be part of a farm implement; however, it is incomplete. Another rusted metal sheet was found with a curved edge. A single lead cone was found, measuring 3.4 cm in diameter at the larger end. A circular object with a central hole and threading around the outside was found and resembles a heavy duty washer. A single, flat metal triangular object was recovered, with a stem extending out; however, it is broken off. A long rod with a looped handle and a pointed end was also found, measuring 81 cm in length and 5.5 cm in width with holes every 12.5 cm. A small square piece of lead mesh, folded over at the edges as if they had been wrapped around an object was recovered. The holes measure 0.6 cm in diameter. Finally, a thick metal pipe cut off diagonally at one end (like an exhaust pipe) was discovered. It measures 24 cm in length and has a diameter of 4.5 cm.

7.2 Summary

Examining the HBC complex collection, it is apparent that the majority of the artifacts

were very fragmented both as a result from the passage of time but more significantly due to the events of 1885 during which the store was burnt down. Artifacts that managed to remain relatively intact were those too large or heavy to carry off during the raids. Such items include various farm implements and woodworking tools. Evidence of burning is apparent from the quantities of melted glass, burnt wood fragments and charred ceramic fragments. The recovered remains appear consistent with what would be expected after scavenging and fire episodes.

The Architecture group dominated mainly due to the large quantities of nails and broken window glass. Although many of the nails would have come from the structures themselves, there was ample evidence that suggests nails were among the stock available at the HBC store. Historic documents support this, as nails were often listed as being overstocked at the Battleford store. The Unclassified group was also large; however, this was due to the fragmented nature of the items whereby a single ceramic or glass item was broken into multiple pieces.

Although most of the recovered artifacts are fragmentary and lack distinguishing marks, three definite areas can be defined based on where some of the objects were being made. This includes the United States, eastern Canada and Britain. Thus despite the nature and size of the FeOb-2 collection, some insight can be gleaned about where the HBC was acquiring their goods and what was left behind during the “siege” of Battleford. Using advertisements from the local newspaper, further information can be extracted on how the HBC was reacting to the local competition, thus reflecting how they were dealing with this new economic era. These points are further explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 8

Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an in depth discussion of the results from both the archaeological and historical investigations of the FeOb-2 site. The goal is to review and consolidate the presented material from previous chapters in order to determine the HBC's degree of adaptation to the changing economy in the 1880s. A quick look at how material culture can be used to determine social context and consumer behaviour is initially presented and paired with evidence from the local newspaper. This helps explain how and what interpretations can be gained from the excavated material remains. This is followed by a discussion of the act of looting – what conditions led to it, who participated and what types of looting occurred during the North-West Resistance in 1885. This information will aid in understanding the specific circumstances that led to the selection of certain items and will demonstrate how the specific context of this event varied greatly from typical day-to-day consumption in the 1880s. A brief summary of the factors influencing artifact preservation is also provided.

Next is a more detailed examination of the various functional categories represented in the collection. Explanations are proposed for the variations in quantity and types of artifacts recovered, shedding some insight on the HBC's accommodation to the changing economic environment and local demographics. The discussion then turns to the larger trade network and examines where items were being manufactured. This information sheds light on what contacts were being maintained from the fur trading era and which were being sought out in adaptation to the new market. Finally, after reviewing the various lines of evidence, general trends and conclusions are provided for the Battleford HBC store.

8.2 Commodities, Consumer Behaviour and Consumption

Before examining the FeOb-2 collection in detail, it is important to understand why and how material culture, specifically from a store-type deposit, can provide information on consumer demands and accommodations to the changing economic environment. A quick discussion on commodities, consumer behaviour and consumption will provide information regarding artifacts and their ability to reflect social meaning and context and how this in turn can be used to analyze the HBC store. More specific details on several of the following points will be discussed in later sections as they apply to the HBC store.

Artifacts are more than the remains of a past lifetime, they are chosen by someone for a reason and are thus given meaning within the social context they are used. These meanings can remain ambiguous as text and are neither fixed nor universal (Little 1992:219). Their interpretation relies on social context and situation which can then provide valuable information on how the community was viewing the objects. This can also help in the determination of whether or not the HBC was meeting the town's needs. Such information can provide insight as to why certain groups of objects were left behind while others were targeted. Stores are studied in order to gain details on all realms of the marketplace: production, distribution and consumption (Belisle 2011). Unlike household deposits, store deposits reflect items that were not yet purchased and can therefore provide insight on the acquisition process.

In the case of Battleford, the HBC store excavations also reflect items that were not looted or scavenged during the North-West Resistance. It therefore provides an indication as to what qualities or objects were considered less important during that event. As will be discussed in the following section, the looting of 1885 represents a specific, short-term event resulting from extenuating circumstances whereby the decisions made by the looters were not necessarily based on typical values and needs. This must be kept in mind as this one event does not accurately reflect the day-to-day choices of the consuming community and thus must be considered separately from the general trends seen in the store.

During the late nineteenth century most goods were commodities as they were created specifically for trade (Orser 2004). It was believed that by making goods affordable to everyone, retail stores were providing a civilizing service for the Canadian nation. Thus the goods and services elevated "Canada's inhabitants from a state of barbarity to a state of enlightenment" (Belisle 2011:62). Commodities maintain connections with the outside world, either locally or

nationally and can thus provide valuable information regarding the community's situation in the economic sphere (Stewart-Abernathy 1989). In Battleford's HBC store, goods were being obtained from the United States, eastern Canada and Europe. This indicates that despite the town's distance from the railway, it was not completely isolated from the larger trade network and thus the community had a variety of goods to choose from among the several stores in town.

Commodities are not simply bought, used and discarded but are imbued with meaning by their owner and thus must be viewed within their context to gain a proper understanding (Orser 2004). As put by Martin (1991:141) "material objects matter because they are complex, symbolic bundles of social, cultural and individual meanings fused onto something we can touch, see and own". Hence it becomes the relationship between the goods and people rather than the material goods themselves that should be studied (Meskell 2005). Numerous studies have been conducted that illustrate the choice of material goods based on certain inherent qualities, rather than on their functional use (e.g. Burley 1989; Cabak and Loring 2000; Kruczek-Aaron 2002; LeeDecker 1991) and thus demonstrate the importance of the relationship which should be studied. In Battleford's case some of the items left behind in the collection may represent goods with less valued attributes such as heavier weights or larger sizes (due to the specific looting circumstances). Although a store, such as that studied here does not directly reflect the types of choices consumers were making and therefore offers little in the way of individual meaning systems, it does reflect the range of goods from which community members could make choices. Comparison between the available goods and their subsequent purchase and deposition in a household archaeological record would be beneficial in determining whether or not the HBC store was meeting their consumers' needs, as well as how the goods were being used on a day-to-day basis.

According to Majewski and Schiffer (2001) consumerism is "the complex of technologies, organizations and ideologies that facilitate the mass production, mass distribution and mass consumption of goods". Consumer behaviour, more specifically, may be defined as "the patterned decisions that people as individuals and as groups make in the use of wealth" (Gibb 1996:238) and alternatively it has been described as "the behaviour that consumers display in searching for, acquiring, using, evaluating, and disposing of products, services and ideas which they expect will satisfy their needs" (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987:6). There are four main aspects of consumer behaviour, each with differing patterns of behaviour: the decision to

consume; acquisition; use and post-use deposition (Henry 1991:4). As little attention has been given to the consumer behaviour in post-use deposition, archaeology can provide unique insights into these aspects. Thus in studying consumerism, we can gain insight into the economic or symbolic values of goods and hence begin to understand taste, style, social competition and emotional fulfillment from the acquisition of goods (Martin 1991).

Consumption can be defined as “the process or means by which consumer goods and services move through the general economy” (Martin 1991:143). Theories of consumption in historical archaeology have moved away from focusing directly on the goods themselves and have shifted towards the examination of relationships between goods and people (McCracken 1990), focusing increasingly on aspects of acquisition and use (Miller 1987). According to Kleine and Kernan (1991:311) behaviours which are directed towards objects are based on meanings which the individual has ascribed to the object and as such objects with comparable physical traits may be treated in completely different ways. Additionally, these objects always occur within the context of other objects and thus their meanings are derived from these situational instances (Kleine and Kernan 1991). Hence consumption studies offer methods of understanding ways in which individuals and groups create and negotiate their identities and thus provide a link between objects, social behaviour and choice (Gibb 1996). Additionally through people`s purchases we are able to better understand the concepts of wealth and social status and thus the meanings which are ascribed to objects by people of differing classes (Carroll 2000). Even in the face of limited choice due to tradition, economic or social boundaries, individuals play an active role through the negotiation of material goods (Miller 1995).

As Battleford was located in the frontier, the newly arriving Euro-Canadians may have been trying to maintain certain statuses brought with them from their former homes. Perhaps the competing stores that were abreast of trends and technology were better suited for creating and maintaining these identities. On the other hand, upon arriving in a new area filled with new opportunities, inhabitants may have taken advantage of the chance to create new identities. Consumers may have been forced to make choices based on best-fit scenarios and therefore were manipulating the produced items in a way which made them meaningful to the consumer (Wilkie 2000). As the store was located in a frontier town and supplies remained somewhat limited, the latter may be more likely. This would have especially been the case during the initial settlement period when fewer alternatives were available for purchase. Lacking the context within which

the chosen purchases were used it becomes difficult to determine their possible symbolic meanings as well as their function in the production and reproduction of daily life.

With the help of advertisements from the local newspaper, insights can be gained on the social context of the time period. Several of the competing ads dating from the mid to late 1880s emphasized fancy goods and their wide selection from which to choose. Increased selection would provide consumers with a greater potential for individualization from the rest of the community, perhaps signalling status. These trends may also be related to specific ideologies of the community, whereby fancier, trendier goods may have represented connections to Europe and the more civilized eastern portions of Canada. Thus their ownership may have reflected civilization, sophistication and status in a frontier setting. During the nineteenth century, immigrants arriving from both France and Britain brought with them items such as dishes, furniture and ready-made clothing produced through industrial methods. Furthermore they brought with them “above-subsistence expectations of quantity and quality” (Belisle 2011:16). Thus there was an acute awareness among these new arrivals of the differences between North American living conditions and those in Europe. As immigration to Canada increased these middle-class settlers were determined to replicate the levels of material comfort left behind. The stores that had newer, trendier items were most likely those that matched these needs and even the notion of being associated with a particular store (because they shopped there) may have been part of the desired image. As will be later discussed (section 8.4), the HBC store was carrying older technologies and trends reflecting their general lag behind the competition. These lags would have negatively affected the store’s ability to meet the demands of modernization and thus it may have been harder to use their good in the creation of these developing identities.

The HBC was undergoing extreme reorganization as the advent of the railway made new supply routes available and competing stores were already undergoing transformations making it necessary for the HBC to emulate such changes (Klassen 1994; Ray 1990). In order to be perceived as a valid competitor, the HBC would have had to provide sufficient items to meet the established needs of the incoming settlers. As Wall (1994) has already demonstrated, consumer goods were purchased and manipulated in order for families, and in particular women, to construct and portray proper domestic ideals. Thus the store inventory may reflect the types of items required to construct these domestic ideologies. As the HBC newspaper advertisements at this time only promoted the sale of land, it appears as though they were less concerned with or

perhaps unaccustomed to catering to these changing social needs.

In Battleford many different cultural groups were accessing store goods and each group would have had specific preferences. For instance the native peoples preferred the HBC blankets to those of Clinkskill & Mahaffy; despite their similar quality, the HBC's had more colours (Hanson 2003). Thus it becomes important to determine if the HBC was targetting a particular clientele and moreover, to determine if and how these needs and preferences were changing over time. New environments bring new circumstances, forcing people to re-negotiate their identities often through the manipulation of consumer goods. Perhaps the HBC was so focused on the native trade and supplying treaty rations that it failed to accommodate the newer developing Euro-Canadian market, resulting in decreased profits over time.

As each individual varies, choices too will vary and therefore the social position, customs and beliefs of an individual will both restrict and allow certain choices to be made (Wurst and McGuire 1999). Again, social context becomes critical in understanding the reasoning behind consumer choices as they may not have been conducted in a completely independent, limit free context. This is especially true in the case of the native peoples, who had very limited input into the production process. Dependent upon the store they were frequenting, the native groups may have been forced to make selections from a heavily influenced Euro-Canadian stock of goods. Keeping this in mind, it may be possible to identify items which have similar traits to traditional materials and thus may have been used in alternative ways or as a means of resisting dominance.

Through years of fur trading, the HBC had successfully tailored their goods to fit the native peoples' needs and hence may have been the store most frequented by them. Although the results from the HBC store excavation cannot answer all of the above mentioned issues, they are important to keep in mind for future research in this area. Examining household excavations from different culture groups in the area may help in identifying which groups were making use of each store. This would help in determining their preferences and would allow for interpretations to be made regarding the HBC's target audience and whether or not they were meeting the new needs of the community.

8.3 Looting and Preservation Influences

Despite the numerous artifacts recovered from the HBC site, the vast majority of the items on hand in 1885 would have been pillaged or burned during the North-West Resistance.

Together the Euro-Canadians, Canadian militia and local native groups alike were all in need of supplies and thus anything easily accessible and of direct use would have been taken and used for survival. Those items that remained behind would have most likely been larger, more difficult goods to transport or goods which had little immediate value. This specific looting event must be separated out from the general long-term trend analysis of the Battleford HBC store as it represents a very unique context, varying greatly from a typical retail setting. As will be discussed shortly, the circumstances that surround a looting event allow for certain changes in normal consumer behaviour to occur and thus they may not follow general purchasing patterns or predictable attribute selection.

According to an article written by Ginty (2004:858), the particular type of looting exhibited at the Battleford HBC store is known as “flash looting”. It is defined as “a specific form of highly situational political violence involving the appropriation of goods and often occurring in concentrated bursts and against a backdrop of violence or tension” (Ginty 2004: 861). This type of looting is difficult to predict, is often opportunistic in nature and results from numerous factors with severe yet short term consequences. Looters also tend to represent a specific demographic and thus share membership in a distinct group. In the case of Battleford, the various cultural groups involved remained distinct, looting at different times from each other.

The act of looting tends to be imitative with some participants initiating and others following. Four specific enabling conditions must be present in order for looting to occur, including the availability of looters, the availability of lootable goods, the absence of restraint and a permissible socio-cultural environment (Ginty 2004:862). In Battleford, the town was deserted and thus there were plenty of lootable goods available, along with a lack of restraint. The starving native people became restless waiting for provisions to arrive and a few began helping themselves to various stores and homes. These few individuals were soon followed by others as the act of looting became temporarily viewed as socially acceptable in order to fulfill basic needs for survival. The items were removed out of necessity and thus certain factors such as price would have no impact on choice of goods. When analysing the motivations of looters, it must be kept in mind that they can be multifaceted, contradictory and misinterpreted. Within a single group there may be vastly different interpretations for the same act. For example it may be an act of economic opportunism or it may be symbolic or strategic in nature (Ginty 2004: 866).

According to Ginty (2004) and his categories of looting (economic, symbolic, strategic

and selective) the initial looting of the HBC store in Battleford would fall under the economic category whereby looters targeted goods which fulfilled basic human needs such as food and shelter when other means of fulfilling these needs did not exist. The Euro-Canadians were short on supplies during the Resistance as well and thus they would have been trying to secure goods to fulfill these needs. Items easily carried, in good condition and of greater value would have been the first targeted during the searches for supplies. Anything that satisfied an immediate need would have been taken such as subsistence items, clothing, weapons and ammunition.

In economic looting, goods can be taken for both immediate economic exchange or for non-immediate economic use. The latter type helps explain the appropriation of goods with no immediate or economic benefit to the looters and often occurs after natural disasters. In this case “the looter is more influenced by the availability of lootable goods than by the desire to acquire a particular good” (Ginty 2004: 867). Thus the looted good is not valued for its intrinsic worth but instead for its potential worth as a potential trade good. Items are no longer carefully chosen for their ability to represent certain ideologies and identities as would normally be seen in a typical retail setting. The Canadian militia also participated in this type of looting whereby they took various types of goods from the abandoned homes for both immediate uses, as well as for future trade. According to Clinkskill “The few portable articles the Indians had not carried away or destroyed, the troops had made off with...several plates of my dinner service turned up, a farmer’s wife bringing in butter on them. These had been gotten from the soldiers in exchange for butter” (Hanson 2003:57).

Another category of looting which may have been present during the Resistance is known as symbolic looting. In this case the primary benefit is non-material as pleasure is derived from the appropriation of goods with representative rather than intrinsic value (Harrison 1995:255-272). The looted goods may embody a regime or individual and hence their seizure reflects a message of changing power relations (Ginty 2004:867). As both the native and Métis groups who participated in the looting of Battleford were experiencing grievances with the Canadian Government, their actions may have also reflected symbolic meanings of resistance, power and dominance.

Strategic looting is a third category which may have occurred in Battleford and represents a wider politico-military project, often associated with destruction (Ginty 2004:868). The Métis groups who looted and set fire to the various buildings in Battleford reflect a strategic type of

looting whereby their actions were a result of political motivations. They were attempting to cause trouble and engender distrust between the native people and the Euro-Canadians in order to gain the former's support against the Canadian government. Thus their actions were strategically executed in order to produce certain results. Within a single act of looting, simultaneous motivations spanning a number of categories can occur. Furthermore over time its character can morph from spontaneous basic needs looting to a more organized economic activity (Ginty 2004:868). This appears to have been the case in Battleford during the Resistance, as it seems to have begun with economic motivations and then became more strategic in nature. With this insight into the effects of looting on an archaeological record a new understanding can be gleaned from the HBC site and the recovered artifacts.

Despite a lack of individual consumer choice occurring at this time, specific artifact characteristics such as size, weight, replacement cost, remnant use-life and condition, would also have played a role in what was left behind during the raids of 1885 (Schiffer 1987). Additional circumstances such as distance to travel, season, and means of transportation would have had impacts on what could be carried away from the site. As the native group seeking to confirm their loyalties to the Queen had arrived in Battleford by foot, they could only take as much as they could carry. The subsequent Métis raids which took place more often on horseback (along with at least one incident involving wagons) could have accommodated much larger and heavier items, as well as larger quantities.

Subsequently after the lootings, the store, along with many homes and businesses, were burned down. Later cultivation of the area further disturbed the site. These circumstances left little potential for a complete range of artifacts to be recovered and thus there is a decreased potential for knowledge of the site (Schiffer 1987). Schiffer argued that "as a result of formation processes, the archaeological record is a transformed or distorted view of artifacts as they once participated in a behavioural system" (Schiffer 1987:10). Hence artifact patterns can be created which are unrelated to the past behaviours being studied. At the FeOb-2 site, recovered artifacts may reflect both primary deposition from the store and secondary deposition from the looters, the fire and cultivation. This makes determining in the archaeological record what was available for sale at the HBC store difficult as the artifacts may have been deposited in the cellar through a number of circumstances.

After the initial depositional process during the events of 1885, numerous other events occurred, affecting the state of preservation and thus the potential for recovery of artifacts. According to Schiffer (1987), when site abandonment occurs during a time of high demand, suitable materials will be scavenged. On the other hand, during times of low demand materials will often be left behind. In Battleford's case, supplies and provisions were much needed by all parties involved and thus would have been scavenged as much as possible. Once abandoned, the site may have been used as a garbage dump, thereby adding artifacts that were not part of the initial deposit. Evidence of machine-made bottles supports this, as they were not produced until post 1900. As time went on the remaining items may have become valuable to collectors and thus picked up for new reasons. Additionally the site was later cultivated for agriculture and many of the items may have become exposed to the air leading to increased surface collection and dispersal throughout the area. Despite only representing a portion of what was potentially available to the community in 1885, the Battleford collection provides a glimpse into the HBC economic transition into retailing.

8.4 Closer Examination of Functional Groups Represented

Examining the specific quantities in the functional groups from the HBC store, it is obvious that the "Architectural" group dominates the collection. Consisting of 5132 items, it outnumbers every other category by at least 3000 items. Taking a closer look, these values can be easily explained by the sheer number of nails and broken window glass recovered from the site. Had the window panes, both for sale and used in the construction of the store itself, been in complete form these values would have been much lower. Much of the glass was found in fused layers, apparently because window panes were stacked in the store for sale. The nails were both used and new, indicating a mixing of those used in the store's construction with those available for sale. The majority of the unused nails were 1 ½ and 2 ½ inches in length, both sizes cut with plain machine-made square heads. These nails were fairly universal and would have been useful in a variety of construction projects. Very few wire nails were recovered from the site, indicating either a lack of this newer technology in the store's inventory or that they were considered superior to cut nails hence fewer remained in the inventory. As many of the wire nails have been damaged by rust, it is difficult to determine whether they were new or used. Perhaps the competing stores, who were capable of keeping up with trends and technology, were stocking

wire nails and as a result the community was purchasing these instead of the supplies of cut nails available at the HBC store. Few roofing and other specific-use nails were recovered at the site, indicating more generalized, multipurpose goods being stocked by the company. This also further reflects the HBC's slow adjustment to changing technologies, hence the lack of task specific-items and wire nails. It is clear the store was attempting to cater to the construction needs of the community, perhaps filling the role of a hardware store.

In two of the inspection reports dating from the later Battleford HBC store (Inspection Report by Beeston and Hardisty dated Battleford, 1 October 1888 and 2 October 1889 HBCA B.235/e/23b; B.235/e/34), a surplus of nails was identified and thus potentially indicates that the HBC store was catering to a perceived need instead of a real one. Perhaps by 1885 the major construction boom had passed, especially after the relocation of the Territorial capital to Regina. Fewer people were settling in Battleford, as many more communities were being established along the southern railway line. Alternatively, perhaps after the flooding and the events of 1885 there was a real need for nails in order to rebuild the many homes and businesses that were damaged. As a result the HBC may have stocked up on construction supplies and thus the surplus of nails reported in the 1888 inspection report may simply reflect the oversupply from these earlier events. As it took up to a year for the HBC's ordered goods to arrive in Battleford, an order may have been placed based on the then current rate of consumption. Once the supplies actually arrived, the rate may have diminished, leaving large quantities of overstocked goods at the store. Whatever the case, nails were also not seen as valuable to the looters and scavengers who combed the area for supplies.

The other functional group with an above average value is the "Unclassified" group. This group contains items which are close to complete but could not be identified at the time of classification. This is not to say they are impossible to identify, merely that the researcher has been unable to determine their specific function due to their fragmented nature. Such items include fragmented ceramic vessels and broken glass bottles. Again, if these items had been in complete form, the value for this group would have been much smaller as they could have been classified according to their function or at least would have counted as fewer complete items.

Many of the bottle finishes recovered at the site were tooled, a method generally dating no earlier than 1885. Prior to this the majority of glass containers were produced with applied

finishes (1830-1880s) whereby an additional piece of heated glass was added to the top of the bottle. During the mid-1870s the transition to tooled finishes commenced, lasting into the mid-1890s. In general this process began with smaller bottles and hence as a rule the larger the bottle, the later it was produced with a tooled finish (Society for Historical Archaeology 2007). As a result, the smaller drug store and patent medicine bottles appear to have completed the transition by the end of the 1870s, a trend which is confirmed in the FeOb-2 collection. Most of the tooled finishes at the site were found on medicine type bottles, smaller in size. However, keeping in mind the length of time it took the HBC to receive goods these numbers may also indicate a short shelf-life at the store, reflecting a high demand for patent medicines on the frontier. This is consistent with numerous historic documents dating to this time period. Some of the bottles represent post-depositional mixing. The fact that both types of finishes are represented in the collection indicates that this transition was in process, a trend that fits with the HBC store's dates of operation.

Both the "Unclassifiable" and the "Food Preparation and Consumption" groups had relatively large values; however, they too can be explained by their fragmentary nature. The majority of the former group includes small pieces of broken artifacts, too fragmentary to be identified. The latter has numerous broken dishes, thus enhancing the overall numerical value of the group as well. The majority of ceramic patterns recovered at the HBC site have been identified as Spode/Copeland transfer-prints from England. This company was commissioned to supply the company with tableware and toiletware beginning in 1836 and remained the major supplier in the 1870s. This long-standing trade relation is reflected in the Battleford collection where a total of seven different patterns is represented. These Spode/Copeland patterns have also been found at various other HBC posts such as Fort Carlton, Fort Pitt and Fort Victoria (Doll et al. 1988).

Several other patterns have been found (their manufacturers remain unidentified, however) indicating other manufacturers were being contracted at the same time in 1885. As ceramics have a long shelf-life, it is difficult to say if the items were current orders or if they were left over from earlier shipments. Nevertheless, the presence of non-Spode/Copeland ceramics may reflect an attempt at meeting the new demands from the changing population who were not satisfied by the HBC's traditional supply. As ceramics produced by other manufacturers have been found at various HBC posts, these Battleford samples may not be a new contract at all.

Manufacturers need to be identified before proper comparisons can be done, as photographic representations are not available for all sites. Those vessels that remained in usable condition were most likely scavenged during or after the events of 1885; however, due to their highly fragile nature the majority were most likely broken and destroyed.

Examining the remaining functional groups, it is clear that agriculture was a dominant activity in the Battleford area. This is also supported by numerous historical documents dating to that period. Despite larger quantities of items recovered in the “Architectural” and “Food Preparation and Consumption” functional categories, the “Agricultural and Animal Husbandry” group had a distinct variety of farm implements which would have been important in field cultivation. Moreover, the majority of the items in this category are nearly complete, thus representing the true number of artifacts in the group. It includes two sizes of both sickles and scythes, along with a variety of sizes of saws which indicate the HBC store was catering to the developing settlement and agricultural economy in the area. Very little is mentioned by Clinkskill & Mahaffy, as well as in the local *Saskatchewan Herald*, regarding competitors selling agricultural implements. Perhaps the HBC store was the major supplier of these goods. As these items are not mentioned in the inspection report as being overstocked or unsellable, there must have been a real need by the community for these tools. The fact that so many remained in the collection may simply be a reflection of their size, weight and practicality during the raiding events.

Another explanation reflects function. The native groups were having little success in their agricultural endeavours and many had given up the task altogether. These agricultural items would be of little use to them and their immediate need for food and supplies. Moreover, under the treaties, native reserves had been supplied with agricultural implements and instructors to ease the transition to a sedentary lifestyle. As a result they would have had little need for additional supplies. These implements may have been viewed instead as tools of oppression, representing an unsuccessful and forced way of life. The Euro-Canadians would also have little need for agricultural implements inside the stockade and thus the tools remained at the store. As they were not later removed for use or resale, the items must have been sufficiently damaged by the fire. All of the wooden handles were burnt off and many of the blades were found bent during excavation.

There is also a sufficiently high number of items in the “Personal” functional group that it warrants some discussion. Again most of these items are not broken and thus represent more closely the number of recovered artifacts in this group. The majority of the category consists of buttons, specifically white glass buttons with decorative details. These would have been used on various articles of clothing, either for sale as individual, replacement items or as part of a garment. Due to their small size and delicate details, it appears as though they were for use on female garments such as blouses, dresses or gloves. Some of the plain ones may also have been from men’s shirts. Despite the large number of these buttons, few are identical in both size and design, indicating a relatively large variety available to the community. If the buttons had originally been part of a garment for sale, it would be expected that a larger number of identical buttons be found. At this time many women purchased fabrics and dress supplies separately, making their own clothing at home. However, the increasing numbers of European immigrants arriving in the west were accustomed to purchasing pre-made clothing. Thus, perhaps the HBC was supplying a variety of buttons for this new market, again demonstrating an attempt at meeting the new demands of the community. It must be kept in mind, however, that buttons were a staple in the fur trade inventories as well and hence their presence could reflect the maintenance of traditional stock goods.

Some of the buttons may also have fallen off during the looting of the building either before or after the burning. Most are in good condition with little evidence of heat deformations and indicates the latter explanation may be a possibility. Many of the Euro-Canadians sheltered in the stockade were encouraged to return to town after the fire and collect whatever could be salvaged from the debris of both the stores and homes in Battleford. Some artifacts may have been deposited at the site during this time.

Further evidence that the HBC was attempting to cater to the incoming families, especially the women and children, can be seen in the Toys/Games sub-group. Nine items consisted of broken porcelain doll pieces and a broken bone doll arm. These however, may not have even been for sale in the HBC store. Most advertisements for the competing stores highlight the availability of a variety of fancy goods such as stationary, ribbons and printed cottons. The HBC advertisements make no mention of these types of goods until the late 1880s and early 1890s. Although ribbons and printed cottons were commonly found among fur trade inventories, there may not have been such a demand for new, trendy patterns and colours. Fewer competitors

existed during this earlier time period and thus the HBC would have felt less pressure to supply the latest fashions from Europe, satisfying the clients instead with whatever samples they had on hand. Perhaps they had yet to understand the changing demographics of the community and thus left this portion of the market relatively untapped. The inspection report in 1889 indicates that what fancy goods the HBC had were soiled and unfit for sale. When combined with the fact of their delayed arrival, these items were not meeting the current needs of the Battleford inhabitants at that time. Thus it may equally be possible that the HBC was failing to cater to this portion of the growing community's demands. The competing stores were quick to see this new market and brought in a larger variety of lesser quality goods more frequently as compared to the HBC. Nevertheless, due to the large number and variety of buttons recovered from the site it is highly unlikely that all of them came loose from looters' clothing and thus it must be considered that at least a portion of them may have been for sale in the HBC store.

Bone and metal buttons were also recovered; however, they are in worse condition than those of white glass and thus are likely to have been for sale in the store, experiencing the effects of the fire. Bone buttons were often used on general work clothing available at HBC stores; however, they were also in use by both Métis and native groups. Cloth items would have been easy to transport during the looting as one could simply layer them on, freeing the arms to carry bulkier items. Buttons may easily have fallen off during this process as they are not always securely fastened. Many of the Euro-Canadians inside the fort had fled their homes in such haste that few extra items were brought with them. Changes of clothing would have been another valuable asset to the people and hence were probably scavenged at the first possibility. Although, ideally, people would have returned to their homes for clothing, these may have been destroyed and thus all forms of clothing found in town may have been brought back to the fort and dispersed to the people. With the discovery of numerous metal and bone buttons at the site it appears as though the HBC was still carrying general work clothes as it had in the past, meeting the needs of the many labourers. Again there is also the possibility that some of the buttons came loose from the looter's clothing as the fire was set after these events occurred and thus the items would still reflect the effects of the fire on them.

Both the "Social, Recreational & Indulgence" (n= 65) and the "Defence & Hunting" (n= 61) groups had slightly higher numbers when compared to the numerous groups which only had 10 to 30 items in them. In the first group, the majority consisted of broken alcohol bottles and

fragmented clay pipes. As the laws regarding alcohol consumption were fairly strict in 1885, few individuals could legally sell liquor. As previously discussed it was often illegally traded to native groups by American outfitters who conducted their trade north of the international border. A minimum of four Budweiser (a beer originating in St. Louis, U.S) bottles was recovered at the site. These were not likely for sale at the HBC store as the company was attempting to curtail the use of spirits by the mid-eighteenth century. What sales they did in liquor came from their own brand originating in England, after sources in France became increasingly difficult to secure in the early 1700s (HBCA 2011). By the 20th century the HBC brand of spirits was well known throughout North America and wholesaling divisions were established in 1907 to meet these increasing needs. Finally in 1987 the Hudson's Bay Distillers was sold to Seagrams in order to continue their focus on retailing (HBC.com 2011). In addition to the Budweiser bottle fragments, there were also nine push-up bases of dark olive green glass. These were typically used in either champagne or wine bottles; however, the manufacturer location has not been identified and thus few conclusions about their origins or contents can be made.

From the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century liquor was standard issue among the HBC employees and it was distributed twice weekly, amounting to 1 litre per man per week (HBCA 2011). Extra rations were also provided to the men during holidays such as Christmas, New Year's and the monarch's birthday and it was used as hazard or incentive pay to those who performed out of the ordinary work. In addition to these distributions, alcohol was also on hand to be used during trading ceremonies with the native groups – an important and long-standing tradition. The bottles from the site could have been on hand for such occasions. Most of the glass shows signs of melting indicating contact with high temperatures either during the events of 1885 or afterwards. Abandoned sites were often used as wasted disposal centres or as locations to hide unacceptable activities, so the site may have functioned in this capacity after the store was destroyed. Alcohol was highly sought after and thus it is most likely that any supplies available at the HBC store in 1885 were taken during the raids and consumed.

The "Defence & Hunting" category consists mainly of spent shotgun cases and lead shot pieces. There are also a few rimfire cartridge cases and a musket ball among the collection. These may have resulted from the raids in 1885 or they may have been for sale in the shop and exploded when the fire was lit. As the ammunition came from three differing manufacturing companies it is difficult to say if the HBC store was importing several types or if they became

part of the collection due to the variety of weapons being used at this time during the raids. As the Métis had close ties with American firms, it is possible that they were acquiring their ammunition directly from the States or from other stores importing them. Both the Union Metallic Company and the Winchester Repeating arms Co. were located in the United States. The Eley Brothers were located in England and their product most likely was imported by the HBC. As all the groups involved in the 1885 North-West Resistance were in need of weapons and ammunition, it is highly likely that any supplies available at the HBC store were quickly taken and thus those recovered during the excavation were either the few left behind or spent during the numerous raids.

The “Faunal” functional group is also high in quantity; however, as the focus of this thesis is not on faunal remains very little analysis has been done. It is possible that after the events of 1885 the site became used as a butchering or disposal location. The majority of the bones show little evidence of burning indicating they were most likely disposed of after the fire. They are also in a butchered state (few whole bones) and show obvious butcher marks from a saw-like tool. The bones were found in abundance throughout the site indicating little pattern for disposal. Perhaps the bones were placed in the pits as a subsequent attempt at cleaning up the area prior to cultivation. If the butchering was occurring during the occupation of the store, bones would not be expected to be found within the cellar mixed with other items for sale. Thus these would have been placed here post-use of the store. As the bones are not shattered or finely broken, it does not appear as though they were being used for marrow and grease extraction. These bones may have been deposited as a result of garbage disposal by farmers occupying the area.

In summarizing the collection it becomes evident that through multiple processes, the site has been reduced and disturbed making historical reconstruction difficult. The inventory records for this store have not been located and thus a master list of goods for sale, against which the collection could be compared, does not exist. Similar contemporary stores have not been excavated, further inhibiting valuable comparisons. The artifacts recovered during excavation represent only those items which were left behind after the looting and burning of the building and thus reflect goods which were not considered as important for survival or were too heavy to move.

8.5 Larger Trade Networks

Although historical archaeologists have the added benefit of using documentary records, the recovered artifacts themselves can provide ample information regarding their roles as commodities (Orser 2004). Beyond what is obtained from labels and manufacture traits, artifact distribution both throughout the site and the larger region can provide valuable information on the availability of goods in the community. Through the use of maker's marks, manufacture locations can be identified and thus transportation distances and costs can be calculated for the recovered artifacts. This information can provide insight into both long and short-distance trade networks maintained by the Battleford community (Orser 2004). Specifically, the artifacts from the HBC store can aid in the identification of their manufacture or distribution locations, thus creating a "sketch" of the HBC's trade network.

The HBC traditionally brought their goods directly over from Europe on ships to be distributed throughout their trading area. This process took up to three years to complete, making changes hard to implement. As new manufacturers began to operate in North America, it decreased the amount of time and thus cost required to ship goods to the distributing posts. With more goods becoming available in both eastern Canada and the United States, stores were no longer reliant on shipments from overseas and it thus became easier to operate retailing businesses on the frontier. Competition began to crop up in the once monopolized country and the HBC was in need of altering its business strategy to accommodate the incoming settlers and their needs. Although the HBC had long-established trade networks, the majority of their goods came from Europe resulting in much higher transportation costs. New businesses took advantage of the Winnipeg wholesalers who could provide a larger variety of goods (some of which would have been American goods) for a lower cost and which were transported overland, by-passing the troubles posed by the HBC steamers. In fact, during Graham's survey of the HBC's business ventures, he claimed that nearly any merchant could get a better price from a wholesaler than the Company did for the items regularly carried on inventory (Ray 1990). The company also suffered from a maladjusted pricing system whereby many of the more valued stock items were under-priced to the point where competitors would buy and re-sell them for a profit. If the company was to stay competitive, it needed to take advantage of volume buying before the market was snatched up by up-coming retailers.

After examining all of the identified maker's marks on the excavated artifacts, three

general source areas have been located from which the HBC was purchasing goods. Naturally, the majority appears to be coming from Europe, following the HBC's traditional supply route. As of 1885 the HBC had yet to take advantage of the many eastern Canadian wholesalers, so their goods were still received from the long-established trading relations set up during the fur trade era. Specifically the London area appears to have been supplying a large number of items such as James Keiller & Sons Marmalade, Eley Brothers ammunition, Stephens Aldersgate ink, Doulton Lambeth ink, Lea & Perrins Worcestershire sauce and the various Spode/Copeland ceramics. As well the clear bottle labelled S.Oxley has London embossed on it and thus most likely came from there. There were also numerous metal buttons which had EDWARDS PATENT impressed into them. Research suggests the patent may belong to John Edwards and Charles Iliffe of London who received a patent in May of 1861 for improvements in the manufacture of buttons. Additionally the sickles recovered from the site were inscribed with W. Fox and although little information was found on this manufacturer, Fox was identified as a sickle maker and sharpener in the 1870 census for Derbyshire (UK) (Bowler 2006).

The next largest source area was the United States, with Florida Water, Perry Davis' Pain Killer, Winchester Repeating Arms, Union Metallic Company and C. Conrad & Co. Original Budweiser all hailing from there. The hand saws recovered from the site did not display manufacture marks; however, the screws used to secure the wooden handle had an eagle and WARRANTED SUPERIOR Pat. DEC 31, 1867 on them. Research indicates that Henry Disston was manufacturing saws with these screws at this time in the United States. Although these items were all found at the HBC site there is also the possibility that some of them, such as the ammunition and alcohol bottles, were deposited secondarily during the events of 1885 (as previously discussed in the above section). Due to the variety and number of Disston saws at the site, it is most likely that they were being imported for sale at the store.

Finally, a single Eastern Canadian manufacturer was identified. It is the Wellandvale Manufacturer from St. Catherines, Ontario. Scythes recovered from the site are from this manufacturer and thus may have been cheaper to acquire than those from overseas. In any case, it appears as though the HBC was not making regular use of eastern Canadian firms at this time. It was not until several years after Graham's 1870 survey of the HBC business ventures that attention was focused on the retailing enterprises, as proposed for the future of the company. In fact not until Wrigley was hired in 1884 by the HBC as trade commissioner were major steps

taken to advance profits in the retailing department. Unfortunately, this also coincided with the North-West Resistance and thus the HBC was busy filling government contracts for the troops. Subsequent changes in the HBC strategy included volume purchases from local eastern Canadian companies that reduced transportation costs and supported Canadian economic growth. The HBC was often criticized for being a foreign firm taking contracts away from developing Canadian businesses. Despite these initial changes, it was 1892 before the saleshop became separate from the fur trading business. This slow change in the HBC's economic strategy is reflected in the Battleford HBC store collection as the majority of items were still being received from Europe.

8.7 Summary and Conclusions

As discussed in previous chapters, the HBC was long-established in the fur trade business and was thus proficient at catering to the needs and demands of those involved such as the Euro-Canadian, Métis and native trappers. The HBC also supplied many government and police contracts during times of decreasing fur availability through the mid to late 1800s. Despite its previous success the company was unaccustomed to predicting the needs of the various settlers entering the west. No longer were the standard trade items carried by the HBC capable of satisfying the complete range of goods desired by the growing populations and thus new retail stores began to appear in competition with the HBC. Unacquainted with these new goods and lacking the established trade connections needed to supply them, the company began to lose profits to the more current stores. In 1870 increased expansion into general retailing was advised in order for the HBC to remain a successful competitor. Unfortunately the men in charge had little retailing experience and were still focused on the fur trade which resulted in few changes to the company's traditional stock and trade system.

New products were slowly brought in by the HBC to test the market but with unpredictable steamboat transportation and only one or two shipments arriving each year, the stock was often damaged or already outdated upon its arrival. Unable to sell the goods, the HBC store ended up overstocking these items and profits were lost. Competing frontier stores took advantage of the Winnipeg wholesalers, buying goods in volume at lower prices. They also made more frequent purchases enabling them to keep up with trends and changing demands of the developing communities. Furthermore, with transportation occurring over-land, the stock arrived at predicted times with less damage incurred.

As the HBC had such a large-scale operation and control was hierarchically operated from the distant location of London, changes were difficult to implement and thus adaptation to the changing economic environment remained slow. Despite being such an organized company, the London governing committee was often unaware of the changing political and economical environments on the frontier and as a result decisions were sometimes based on false assumptions and misguided sources. This frustrated many of the employees as they saw inappropriate policies being made by men who knew little of their current situations.

The Battleford HBC store was no exception to this delayed reaction to retailing. Despite being the first establishment in the area in 1868, the store was still focusing on its traditional role in the fur trade rather than the retail business. It operated as an outpost and thus emphasis was placed on collecting furs. As more settlers joined the community, the economic foci shifted to agriculture and settlement which resulted in the establishment of new stores to meet the changing demands. Relying on their traditional trade stock which was, in terms of the earlier fur trade, of good quality, the HBC failed to maintain their competitive edge. Moreover the HBC store was required to trade furs at pre-set prices from headquarters, making it difficult to remain competitive with other local traders. This was even noted by competing stores such as Clinkskill & Mahaffy, who stated the following regarding higher priced furs: “The Hudson’s Bay Company was rarely successful in getting these trades. They had a fixed schedule of prices to pay for furs sent from headquarters, the manager could not vary his prices” (Hanson 2003:4).

In addition to unsuccessful business measures, the Battleford HBC store, along with the rest of town, endured many difficult circumstances including the North-West Resistance in 1885, the removal of the territorial capital, severe flooding, and being by-passed by the railway. The results of some these events may have kept the company in business longer, as several rebuilding phases occurred allowing the HBC to profit from large sales. In fact, demands were so high that suppliers were taxed just to cover these needs. For a while all the stores profitted in town, despite losses endured from failed debt payments after the North-West Resistance. Thus despite a decline in population after the removal of the territorial capital, construction boomed with all the subsequent building cycles. Hence supplying these goods was profitable and for a time luxury goods such as ribbons and stationary became less affordable as basic construction supplies and provisions took precedence.

After the North-West Resistance and the rebuilding of much of Battleford, a new HBC

store was constructed in 1885 and profits seemed to increase from retailing. New approaches had been taken in advertising and in minimizing operation costs whereby goods were being acquired through Canadian and to a lesser degree, American firms. Despite this brief profitable span of ten years, the HBC store in Battleford began to lose business once more and in 1910 it was finally forced to close its doors. Had the company been able to predict and adjust to the new economic environment prior to the onslaught of competition, the HBC may have captured more of the market and prolonged their business in Battleford.

Despite being affected by the events of 1885, the recovered artifacts reflect a portion of what would have been available to the community at this time and provide a glimpse into the economics of the community. Due to the looting that occurred at the store, anything which satisfied an immediate need to the Euro-Canadians, Métis and native people was quickly scavenged for survival, symbolic or strategic value. As a result of this isolated incident, the Battleford collection does not represent the typical consumer behaviour occurring in the community. What was recovered during excavations represents only goods deemed of little value and were those which survived the effects of the fire and subsequent cultivation. Several of the artifacts, such as the machine-made bottles, date from a later time period and hence provide evidence of post-occupation deposition.

High numbers of construction materials and agricultural implements were recovered at the site indicating the store was catering to the basic needs of the community, and the looters of 1885 found these items of little value. Some of these items were also part of the more traditional stock from the earlier fur trade era, demonstrating the maintenance of trade networks and established relations. This reflects the stockholders neglect of the developing retail business. Due to the HBC's poor transportation system and failure to take advantage of volume buying, they remained behind in both technology and fashion trends, allowing the competing stores to fill this niche. This is evidenced both in the archaeological remains and the historic documents.

Without a master inventory list from the HBC archives, it remains difficult to determine the exact degree of economic adaptation by the company. However, when combined with the archaeological data and historical documents, it becomes clear that the HBC was slow to predict and adapt to the changing economic environment, a fact which caused its store to close in 1910. Thus the Battleford HBC store follows the general HBC trends seen throughout the frontier. Despite their long-established roots in the country, during the transition period from fur trade to

frontier town, the company was constantly one step behind the competition resulting in massive profit losses. Nevertheless the HBC managed to make sufficient changes to their business plan that it survived and remains an important retailer today.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

The purpose of this research was multifaceted and encompassed three main goals. The first was to complete an archaeological report for the FeOb-2 site in historic Battleford, Saskatchewan. The South Battleford Project began in 1972 with excavations done as a result of changes planned for Highway 4. Despite being completely excavated, little else was done and thus the completion of the salvage project appears in this thesis. The second goal was to shed some light on the little studied area known as the transition period, focusing specifically on the HBC's economic strategies. This timeframe covers the changeover between late fur trading and early retailing when lifestyles were shifting from trapping and trading to agricultural settlement. The demographics at this time were also changing as waves of Euro-Canadian settlers were entering the area, restricting the native people's movements and infringing on the Métis' way of life. Very little research has been done examining the HBC's response to these changes and thus this thesis establishes a foundation for research expansion in the area. Finally, the third goal was to establish the degree of accommodation to this new economic environment as displayed by the HBC using both the archaeological and historical records. Despite the collection's fragmented nature it provides a brief glimpse into the lives of the Battleford community and the role that the HBC played during this time.

9.1 Analysis of Site FeOb-2

With very little previous work having been done beyond the excavations in 1972, the first step in completing this thesis was proper organization, cataloguing and identification of the recovered artifacts. A total of 10,150 artifacts was classified during this process and the assemblage will be returned to the Royal Saskatchewan Museum in Regina. A new system of functional classification was used in order to obtain better insights into the culture as a whole and

thus artifacts were grouped according to general function and then further separated into more specific use-groups. This contrasts with the typical museum classification method whereby whole items are grouped according to use while remnant artifacts are grouped together with little concern for function. Had this method been used, most of the Battleford collection, being so fragmentary, would have been grouped together in one category of “artifact remnant”. Moreover the functional groups outlined had little relevance to the HBC remains and thus most of the whole artifacts would have all fallen under the category of “tools and equipment”, providing little insight on the variations seen within the collection. This exemplifies the weakness in applying a museum-based classification system to an archaeological collection that is characterized by incomplete artifacts. In the future, a separate classification system should be used in the museum setting, tailored to fit the collection and enabling the highest degree of data analysis. Furthermore, in remaining consistent with other historic archaeological work done outside a museum setting, it enables easier comparison of data, promoting collaboration and sharing of knowledge. As a result of the work completed in this thesis, a detailed analysis for the entire site was produced. This information is now available for use in future research and will hopefully encourage others in a museum setting to take a more functional approach to classification of historic artifacts.

9.2 Addressing Lack of Research

The transition from fur trading to retailing is a poorly studied area of research, especially in regard to the HBC. Much emphasis has been placed on the earlier fur trade period when the HBC featured prominently across the country, over time experiencing both moments of monopoly control and intense competition. The second intention of this thesis was to address the relative lack of knowledge on this later settlement time period and to provide a foundation for future work. Through the use of both the archaeological and historical data, a brief glimpse at Battleford’s economic sphere was produced. Difficulties experienced by both the HBC and other retailers during this time indicate a period of experimentation and fierce competition. Transportation routes and wholesale suppliers became major influences for predicting success on the frontier. Local stores were better able to make quick adjustments to their business plans, while the HBC suffered from slower responses arriving from England. This ability of the former to adapt quickly to the ever changing economic environment through the use of local suppliers

enabled them to out play the HBC with newer technologies and up-to-date consumer trends. Although ideally suited to the earlier fur trade where trends changed at a much slower pace and the goods were tailored to the predominantly native trade, they were ill-suited to the growing Euro-Canadian trade. These new settlers, having often originated from older-established communities, brought with them preconceived images and ideologies that required specific material goods in their construction.

Hence, in general this transition period was characterized by the ever changing consumer demands brought on by the influx of settlers who were seeking to establish agricultural communities. The native and Métis trade was also changing as furs were becoming increasingly difficult to obtain and thus a new way of life was emerging that depended less and less on the HBC trade. New forms of technology, mass production, distribution and transportation revolutionized the west allowing everyone to participate in the consumption of goods and changing the nature of retail forever. By establishing the historical context and various factors influencing the HBC's successes and downfalls, their business response becomes much more understandable.

9.3 HBC's Adaptation to the Economic Changes

The primary goal of this thesis was to determine if the HBC was successfully adapting to the shifting economic environment during the late nineteenth century. As the profits in the fur trade were decreasing in the north-west and increasing settlement and agricultural endeavours were becoming the new focus on the frontier, the HBC was forced to transition in order to meet this new economic market. Despite recognition of this change, there was an apparent disconnect between the controlling headquarters in London and the posts in the Canadian west. While the former was pushing land sales, the latter quickly realized the importance and potential of general retailing. With little control over business operations, the frontier posts could do little to keep up with the expanding competition that had superior transportation and wholesaling connections. These difficulties are represented in the Battleford yearly inspection reports, newspaper advertisements and letters between various HBC employees. Commentary by local competitors Clinkskill & Mahaffy also indicated that the HBC was having difficulties securing trade as their business protocols did not match the current economic conditions.

Looking at the archaeological evidence alone, it must be kept in mind that the Battleford

HBC site represents a unique situation, differing greatly from a typical retail setting. The HBC store, along with many of the other buildings, was looted during the North-West Resistance in the spring of 1885. Thus in analysing the collection it must be recognized that what remains reflects both some general long term trends as well the result of a short-term flash-looting event. These events must be separated out in order for greater insight to be achieved concerning the adaptation of the HBC during this time. This latter event would have had numerous influences on the choices being made when taking items from the store. Furthermore, as numerous distinct groups were participating in this looting event they may have had differing motivations behind their actions. Some may have been economic reasoning, for example the Euro-Canadians, the Canadian militia and native groups, while others such as the Métis, may have had motivations more symbolic or strategic in nature. Therefore although this event disrupts the normal purchasing patterns of the community and hence changes what can be gleaned from the remains, the knowledge of it provides explanations regarding what was left behind. In general, larger heavier items such as agricultural implements and saws were bypassed in favour of smaller more usable items such as food, clothing and ammunition. As the majority of the looting was done to fulfill basic necessities, few choices would have been based on specific attributes reflecting personal identities. On the other hand a regular retail setting would be heavily influenced by these specifically sought after characteristics.

As a result of the disconnect between the frontier and headquarters the HBC remained one step behind the current trends and technologies, losing much of its potential profits to the local stores. The recovered artifacts in the Battleford collection represent older technologies such as machine-cut nails and items from long-established business relations such as Spode/Copeland ceramics in England. This indicates a reliance on traditional trade networks with little usage of more local wholesale products. In fact the only item recovered that was made by a Canadian manufacturer was from Welland Vale in St. Catherines, Ontario. They provided the inventory of larger scythes recovered at the site. As agriculture was a newer way of life, perhaps the HBC lacked a previous major supplier and thus opted for a local company both due to reduced prices and in order to appear supportive of the Canadian market. The HBC was often viewed as a foreign company and was criticized in the late 1870s for taking away Canadian business opportunities.

With the HBC's long transportation route, it remained impossible for them to keep

abreast with changing trends and technologies, as it took up to a year for goods to arrive at their final destination. Many delays were incurred resulting in the arrival of goods during the off-season and by the time they could be sold trends had already changed making the items unattractive. The competition operated on a more local basis, better able to respond to the abrupt changes which characterized the frontier. This poor adaptation to changing markets and competition exhibited by the HBC had already been seen in Alberta where American firms such as I.G. Baker had secured the majority of the business. Thus, based on the presented lines of evidence, it is concluded that the HBC was slow in transitioning from fur trading to retailing and as a result remained less successful when compared to local competition at this time. It was not until the establishment of the department store in the 1890s that the HBC once again became a major player in modern retailing, eventually becoming a national icon in Canadian heritage.

9.4 Future Research

As little research has been done on this transitory period in Canadian history, particularly on the HBC's expansion into retailing, there is much to be learnt and explored. It would be beneficial to examine several other HBC stores during this timeframe in order to determine similarities and differences in adaption strategies at various locations on the frontier. This would provide insight into variations in community demands as well as whether or not the HBC was catering to these regional demands or whether they were following a standardized stocking system. Examining an HBC store with accompanying inventory records may also provide an indication as to how intact the Battleford FeOb-2 collection is and what types of goods appear to be missing. This information may also provide additional insights into the phenomenon of looting and the resulting effects. A more detailed study of competing stores would also provide additional information on the types of pressures (both locally and nationally) the HBC was experiencing at that time, along with differences in retail strategies being used in the late nineteenth century.

Complementary investigations from local household sites would also give supplementary data on what people were buying and what they were throwing away. Some items may be matched to a specific store, providing insight into the types of people or families frequenting the various stores. This would help in identifying whether the HBC was catering to a specific population or if they were generalizing their stock for the entire community. Household research

may also provide information on the economic status of the community, perhaps indicating that the town in general was making fewer purchases due to a limited income. Refuse areas may identify changes in trends over time.

Despite the events of 1885, the Battleford HBC collection represents a slice in time when these goods would have been available for purchase to the community. The information gleaned from this excavation provides a foundation, as well as awareness for this much neglected area of history. It complements the research already done on Fort Battleford by providing a glimpse of the everyday life and what these people would have been using in both the construction and negotiation of their everyday activities. The data are also insightful with regard to the economic environment during the 1880s and they depict an expanding market marked by both successes and downfalls. The HBC in particular was less successful in negotiating the transition to retailing and thus struggled with maintaining profits. Despite eventually becoming a household name in Canada, the HBC remained one step behind the competition during the initial transitional years throughout the 1870s and 1880s.

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Appendix A

Nail Head Typology and Description

(As described in research material from the South Battleford Project, Royal Saskatchewan Museum, Perry 1972)

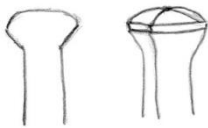
Plain square head: The head of the nail is square and flat. The majority of these types are uniform in shape and size.



Rosehead: The nail head has multiple sides (at least four), converging up to a single point in the middle.



Flaring dome head: The head of the nail flares out from the shank and is rounded/domed on top.



Circle die head: The head of the nail is round and flat with a large raised square section in the middle.



Die head (square): The head of the nail is square and flat with a large raised square section in the middle.



Quarter head: The nail head is very small, barely wider than the shank itself.



Broad head: The nail head is very large, round and flat. These are often used in roofing (Visser 1996).



Clasp head: The nail head flares out on two sides of the shank and comes to meet at a point on top. It is triangular in cross-section whereas the flaring dome is round and the flaring headless is flat.



Flaring headless: The nail head flares out from the shank on two sides and is flat across the top flush with the shank.



Platform head: Similar to the die head, however the nail head is square with only a small raised square in the middle.



Round head: The head of the nail is round and flat, typical of today's nails.



L head: The head of the nail extends only out one side of the shank and is flat on top. In cross section it looks like the letter "L". This type of nail was popular for finish work, trim boards and flooring (Visser 1996).



Appendix B

B.1 Artifact Description: FeOb-2: Garbage Pit and Surface along Baljennie Road (n=746)

The following discussion includes a description of the artifacts recovered from the area along Baljennie Road which includes a garbage pit and which is not part of the HBC complex. The figure below summarizes the types and quantities of artifacts recovered from this area.

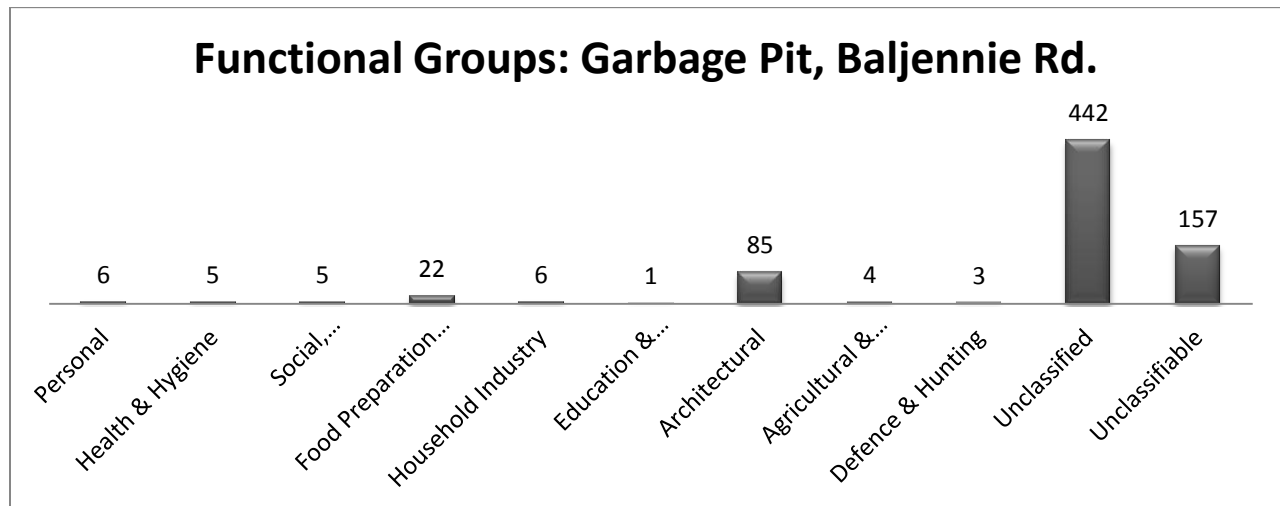


Figure B.1-1- FeOb-2: Functional groups from Garbage Pit, Baljennie Rd.

Personal: n=6

Adornment: A single glass seed bead, white in colour, and broken in half was recovered.

Clothing Fasteners: A single, four-holed, metal button was recovered, measuring 1.4 cm in diameter. The centre is indented and there are faint engravings around the outer edge of a double ring pattern. A similar button exists in the Buffalo Lake Métis site, from cabin 3 and is engraved with “DOUBLE RING –EDGE” and a beaded border (Doll et al. 1988:111). Other examples of this button with fragments of cloth attached were also found in Feature 2 (large refuse pit). This site also dates to the late nineteenth century.

Footwear: Four pieces of leather footwear were recovered. One is that of a shoe base with the heel (stacked) intact, measuring 24.5 cm in length. The toe area is squared and small holes line the periphery where the stitching would have held the shoe together. The remaining three items are fragmentary, with similar holes on their periphery and most likely are part of a shoe insole.

Health and Hygiene: n=5

Medication: Five pieces of aqua bottle glass were recovered and have been placed in this category due to their shape, colour and embossed lettering. Most medication bottles were aqua in colour and prior to paper labelling had their contents or maker embossed on the bottle. The first piece is part of a side panel, rectangular in shape which displays KILL – in embossed lettering. The second piece is part of a wide side panel and contains the embossed letters RO with an N underneath. The next three pieces are all part of a narrow side panel and contain the following embossed letters respectively: TA, LE, BL. These could perhaps have come from vegetable compound bottles or Perry Davis' Vegetable Pain Killer which was popular at this time (patented in 1854 in the U.S.). By 1880, the company had offices in Montreal, Canada and London, England (Griffenhagen et al. 1999).

Food Preparation and Consumption: n=22

Multiple Use Food Storage: There is a total of 4 artifacts in this category. Three of them come from an earthenware container which was once a marmalade jar from London (same as recovered at HBC area). The sherds are glazed white with black writing and fit together. The final item is a piece of lead foil which was commonly used by the HBC for lining tea boxes. This however was not the only use for lead foil; it was also used for liquor bottle tops.

Single Use Food Storage: There are 13 tin can related items in this category. Seven of them are remnants of folded single seams, while one of them also consists of a round base or top measuring 10 cm in diameter. There are an additional three artifacts which come from rectangular cans, all with folded single seams as well. The last two items are tin can lids, rectangular in form with one of them containing a covered hole in the middle. This type of can is known as a hole-in-top can, commonly dating to pre-1910 (Fontana et al. 1962). All items are very rusted and in poor condition.

Tableware: There are five artifacts in this category, including metal, glass and ceramic items. The first two come from a broken metal butter knife, together measuring 16.8 cm in length. The handle is missing as it probably would have been made of wood or bone and thus lost in the fire. There is another butter knife present, with a rounded end, measuring 24.5 cm in length and again

missing the handle. A single brass teaspoon which is now greenish in color is included in this category. It measures 14 cm in length. There is a single piece of light aqua glass, which consists of a partial base and side. It is curved and looks to have been part of a drinking glass.

Household Maintenance and Furnishing: n=6

Hardware: There are four items in this sub-group. The first is a metal pulley fragment with what appear to be decorative details on the top and which look somewhat like a crown. This may indicate that the item was used in a visible location and thus was designed to also be aesthetically pleasing. The next two items are fragments of an iron hinge, again with decorative engraving in the metal. Perhaps they were part of a piece of furniture, in which the hinges were highly visible. As they were also quite substantial they could also have been part of a stove. The last item is much rusted and is rectangular in shape with a rectangular hole in the lower middle of the object. It is a latch for locking something with a padlock, perhaps a trunk or cupboard.

Heating: There is only a single item in this sub-category a heavy iron stove cover. It is oval in shape and has an engraved floral pattern in it. On the inside the following numbers have been stamped: 8 253.

Lighting: The only item in this sub-group is a metal lamp burner. It is greenish in colour indicating the presence of copper. The base portion has clover cut outs as decoration.

Social, Recreational and Indulgence: n=5

Alcohol Consumption: There are three items in this sub-group, all of them being olive green glass fragments. The first is a complete push up-base, dark olive green in color, while the other two are only partial pieces of push-up bases. These types of bases were used most often in champagne and wine bottles, as was the olive green colour (sha.org 2010).

Smoking: There is a single piece of a white ball clay smoking pipe. It is a stem fragment and the bore measures 3mm in diameter.

Toys/Games: A light yellow clay marble makes up this category. It is 1.5 cm in diameter.

Architectural: n=85

Building Materials: There are 63 items in this group, all but one consisting of window glass fragments. The glass is flat with a slight aqua/green tinge to it and all of the pieces are heavily fragmented with the same thickness. The last item is a single fragment of brick, orange in colour.

Construction Hardware: This group contains 22 nails. All of them are heavily rusted, slightly bent and are machine cut. The majority of the nails recovered have plain square heads, representing early machine headed nails (Fontana et al.1962).

Table B.1-1- Types and Quantity of Nails

Type of Nail	Number
2" Plain square head	2
2 ¼" Plain square head	1
2 ½" Plain square head	2
3" Plain square head	8
4" Plain square head	1
5" Plain square head	1
2 ½" Tab head	2
3" Tab head	1
5 ½" Flaring dome head	1
Broken nails	3

Agricultural and Animal Husbandry: n=4

Animal Tack: The first item is half of an ox shoe which contains four holes around the edge and measures 11.5 cm in length. It functions similarly to a horse shoe in protecting the foot of the animal. Half a horseshoe was also recovered, measuring 14.5 cm in length. A portion of a curry comb with metal teeth was identified, measuring 12.9 cm in length and 1.5 cm in width. Finally a metal ring with a portion of leather was recovered appearing to come from an animal bridle or harness.

Defence/Hunting: n=3

Ammunition: Two brass shotgun cases were recovered. One rim measured 2 cm in diameter, and the other measured 1.3 cm in diameter. A single shotgun case with no head was also recovered, measuring 1.8 cm in diameter and is also made of brass. None of the items have any identifying marks to indicate their maker.

Education and Communication: n=1

Writing: There was a single brown stoneware sherd recovered, which was identified as part of an ink bottle. It has the following stamped along the bottom of the side: “STEPHENS ALDERSGATE, LONDON”. This company was founded in 1832 by Dr. Henry Stephens, the inventor of blue-black writing fluid and which was later developed into ink. Beginning in the mid 18th century, Stephens exported stoneware ink containers of various sizes from his London factory on Aldersgate Street (Marsh 2011).

Organic: Ten fragments of a clam shell were recovered. They are white in colour and are pearlized on one side.

Unclassified: n=442

Unclassified Ceramics: There are 164 sherds of what was likely some form of tableware. However the fragments are too small to provide any indication of their original vessel form. The majority are plain whiteware sherds (54%), while the rest of the whiteware sherds have various transfer printed patterns, sponging or embossing. Identified patterns include Spode/Copeland’s Broseley (n=5), Thistle (n=1), Shamrock (n=1) and Honeysuckle (n=2) patterns. Although porcelain and earthenwares are present, the collection is dominated by whitewares, as seen previously in the HBC collection.

Unclassified Glass Container: There are 259 pieces of glass, identified as having come from some sort of a glass bottle. However without any diagnostic traits it is impossible to confirm what type of bottle.

Unclassified Glass: There are two items in this sub-group consisting of thick, light purple glass. The first piece has an oval embossed pattern around the outside. The second piece appears to be

part of a handle and base and lacks a pattern. Both appear decorative and may have been part of a vase, serving bowl or something else that is part of the household decor.

Unclassified Metal: There is a total of 18 pieces of metal in this sub-group, with the majority of them being rusted metal strapping (n=15) which may have been used in multiple ways such as barrel strapping. There is a single round threaded lid, measuring 2.2 cm in diameter but it remains uncertain as to what it came from. There is a single broken piece of flat-bottomed iron rod, broken off with 'ST' stamped into it. The top side is rounded and it almost looks like part of a horseshoe. Finally there is a small rusted pyramid-shaped piece of metal with holes in either end.

Unclassifiable: n=157

Unclassifiable Ceramics: There is a single item in this sub-group, however it remains unidentified. It is hard and red in colour and resembles an eraser.

Unclassifiable Leather: There are two leather items in this sub-group; one small piece of nondescript leather and another strap-like piece which is looped at one end. This latter piece may have come from some sort of horse tack.

Unclassifiable Metal: There are 153 items in this sub-group, with 132 of them being tin fragments, most likely coming from rusted tin cans. There are also 10 lead fragments, 3 wire fragments, a lump of melted lead, a broken rod with a threaded end, an iron pipe 2 cm in diameter and 6 unidentifiable metal fragments.

B.2 Artifact Descriptions from FeOb-2: Building (n=14)

The following section provides a brief description and discussion on the types of artifacts recovered from an unidentified building, also not considered part of the HBC complex. According to Perry's site report, historical evidence suggested this may have been an Indian house. There were very few artifacts recovered and what was found was very fragmentary in nature and lacking in any diagnostic traits. A graphic representation has therefore not been included for this area.

Food Preparation and Consumption: n=1 There is only a single item in this category and it falls into the sub-group Single Use Food Storage. It is a tin can with folded single seams.

Architecture: n=5

Construction Hardware: There are two rusty broken cut nails with plain square heads, a single 2" nail with a rosehead and a 1 ½" plain square head nail.

Building Material: There was a single piece of window glass recovered. It was flat with a light green/aqua tint.

Unclassified: n=6

Unclassified Glass Container: There is a single bright green base with a cup bottom mould seam, and a C inside an upside down triangle. Encircling the triangle, clockwise, are the following letter and numbers: L, 8, 9, 5179. This colour is often used in soda pop bottles, and the C trademark could possibly represent the Canada Dry Ginger Ale Co. (1930-1950) or Consumers Glass Company (1917-1961) amongst others. It would appear that this bottle did not come from the same time period as when the site was occupied, unless another unidentified company manufactured the bottle. There is also a single aqua partial applied finish with evidence of a side seam. The rest of the artifacts are curved aqua body fragments.

Unclassifiable: n=2

Unclassifiable Metal: The first is a tin fragment, most likely coming from a tin can, while the other is a small lead foil fragment which was most likely used to line a tea box, as this was common during this time period; however other sources are still possible.

B.3 Artifact Description from FeOb-2: Building B (n=185)

This excavated area also took place within a building feature, again not associated with the HBC complex. It was suggested based on surveyor Cavana's map (Perry 1972) that this building may have been a telegraph storehouse. Unfortunately few artifacts, particularly with distinguishing features, were recovered and thus little information confirming occupancy was

found. The following graph provides a summary of the groups of artifacts recovered from the area.

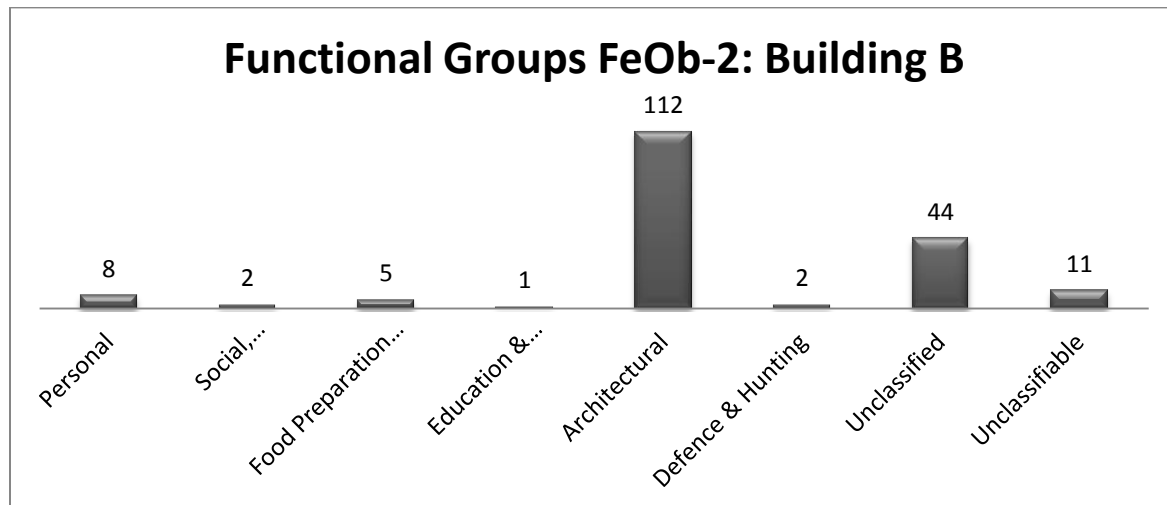


Figure B.2-1- FeOb-2: Functional groups from Building B

Personal: n=8

Adornment: There are seven items in this group, all of them being beads. There are six seed beads: two blue, two red with white insides, one pink and one plain white. The last bead is a drawn multi-faceted, indigo blue (aka Russian blue) and measures 0.6 cm in diameter.

Clothing Fasteners: There was a single metal, much rusted button recovered. The middle is indented with four holes and it measures 1.7 cm in diameter.

Food Preparation and Consumption: n=5

Multiple Use Food Storage: A single large piece of lead foil makes up this sub-group.

Single Use Food Storage: Three rusted tin can fragments fall in to this group. Each one displays folded single seams.

Tableware: A single whiteware ceramic sherd was placed in this category, as it has a curve similar to that of a mug and contains a sponge-stamped blue flower pattern which was also recovered at the Baljennie Road area.

Social, Recreational and Indulgence: n=2

Smoking: There was a single clay pipe fragment recovered. It is golden in colour and consists of part of the pipe bowl.

Toys/Games: A single, round smooth clay marble, measuring 1.7 cm in diameter and light gray in colour makes up this sub-group.

Education and Communication: n=1

Writing: A single stoneware ink well, complete in form save for the stopper, was recovered. It has a burnt orange glaze, stands 5.5 cm tall, and measures 5.3 cm in diameter. There are no markings to indicate the manufacturer.

Architectural: n=112

Building Material: There are 78 items in this sub-group, consisting entirely of window glass fragments. They are flat and have a green/aqua tinge to them.

Construction Hardware: There are 33 items in this sub-group, all of them but one consisting of cut nails. A single tack was recovered, measuring $\frac{3}{4}$ " in length, with a round flat head. The following table summarizes the types of nail recovered from the area. Again the majority have plain square heads.

Table B.2-1 – Types and Quantity of Nails

Nail Type	Quantity
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " Plain square head	4
2" Plain square head	3
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " Plain square head	4
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " Plain square head	1
1" Round head	3
Broken, no head	9
Broken plain square head	5
Broken tab head	1
Broken round head	1

General Hardware: There is a single item in this sub-group, consisting of a heavy iron eye bolt, measuring 15 cm in length, with the end broken off.

Defence/Hunting: n=2

Ammunition: There are two items here; one is a single piece of lead shot, while the other is a lead musket ball measuring 1.2 cm in diameter.

Unclassified: n=44

Unclassified Ceramics: There are three items in this sub-group; all are whiteware sherds which display a sponge applied blue stripe with flowers underneath. One is a rim sherd, while the other two are body sherds. They may be part of a tableware artifact but they do not fit together and the sherds are too small to identify to their original vessel form.

Unclassified Glass Container: There are 37 items in this sub-group, all coming from some type of glass bottle. The majority are body sherds, but also present are a single aqua applied finish and an aqua side panel.

Unclassified Metal: There are four items classified here, one being a fragment of a brass chain. The loops or chains are round measuring 0.9 cm in diameter each and some of the chain appears to be double linked. There are also two pieces of rusted metal strapping, with holes along it, possibly related to a barrel. Finally there is a single piece of rusted metal wire, like the handle of a pail.

Unclassifiable: n=11

Unclassifiable Metal: There are eight tin fragments, most likely coming from rusted tin cans. The other three items are small bits of wire.

B.3 Artifact Description for Laurie's Print Shop Area (n=220)

This is the final area not associated with the HBC complex. As with the other small areas excavated, few diagnostic artifacts were recovered. The figure below summarizes the types of functional groups represented in the collection from this area.

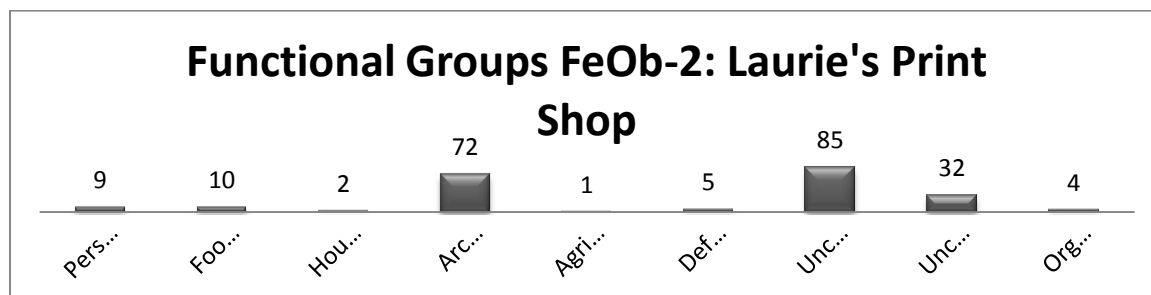


Figure B.3-1- FeOb-2: Functional groups from Laurie's Print Shop

Personal: n=9

Adornment: There are three items in this sub-group. Two are black wire wound beads, measuring 1 cm in diameter, while the other is a robin's egg blue pony bead (drawn) measuring 0.5 cm in diameter.

Clothing Fasteners: There are six items in this sub-group, all consisting of various forms of buttons. There is a single white button, with four holes measuring 1.5 cm in diameter, a single flat black four-holed button of the same size, a gray two-holed button measuring 1 cm in diameter, a white domed button with a metal shank on the back for attachment, measuring 0.9 cm diameter, half a black domed button, measuring 1.3 cm in diameter and finally a metal button with two holes and an oval indent in the middle, stamped or engraved likely with the word "Imperial".

Food Preparation and Consumption: n=10

Multiple Use Food Storage: There is a single clear side panel of a bottle, embossed with the following: L and underneath RACTS. This most likely comes from a vanilla extract bottle.

Single Use Food Storage: There are eight fragments of tin cans in this sub-group, all of them very rusted with folded single seams.

Tableware: There is a single item in this sub-group. It is a small whiteware ceramic handle, which appears to have come from a teacup.

Household Maintenance and Furnishings: n=2

Hardware: There are two items in this group. The first is a rusted window or cupboard lock or clasp. The other is a part of a handle with screws still attached, possibly coming from a drawer as the metal is very thin and more decorative in nature.

Architectural: n=72

Building Materials: There are 41 items in this sub-group, all consisting of window glass fragments. As with other window glass found at the site, it is flat with a green/aqua tinge to it.

Construction Hardware: There are 30 items in this sub-group, all consisting of various types of nails and a single flat head screw. The vast majority of the nails are cut nails; however there were two wire nails recovered as well. Table 4 summarizes the number and types of nails recovered from the area. Again the majority are plain square head nails, a trend seen throughout the entire site.

Table B.3-1 – Types and Quantities of Nails

Nail Type	Quantity
2" Plain square head	3
2 ½" Plain square head	4
3" Plains square head	2
3 ½" Plain square head	1
2 ½" Clasp head	1
4" Die head	1
2" Tab head	1

1 ½" Round shank, round head	2
Broken, plain square head	6
Broken, die head	1
Broken, rosehead	2
Broken, tab head	1
Broken, undetermined head	1
Broken, no head	3

General Hardware: There is a single item in this sub-group. It is a rusted wing nut.

Agricultural and Animal Husbandry: n=1

Animal Tack: This was a small rusted harness buckle, fairly heavy duty, measuring 4 cm in length and 4.8 cm in width.

Defence/Hunting: n=5

Ammunition: There were two shotgun casings recovered, both rims measuring 1.3 cm in diameter. A small rim fire with an H engraved in the head was found, measuring 0.5 cm in diameter. The head of a shotgun case without the body, engraved with E- No LONDON was also recovered (ELEY BROTHERS). Finally a longer shotgun case with a tapering head, measuring 1.5 cm in rim diameter and 5 cm in length was found. This last item had no head stamp.

Organic: n=4 All of the items consist of clam shell fragments. They are pearlized on one side, and white in colour.

Unclassified: n=85

Unclassified Ceramics: There is a total of 31 items in the sub-category, all of them too fragmentary to identify the original vessel form. The majority are whiteware sherds (68%), followed by porcelain and earthenware. There are three Spode/Copeland patterns identified: Broseley, Honeysuckle and Pearls; otherwise the majority of the sherds were undecorated white.

Unclassified Glass Container: There is a total of 41 items in this sub-category, all coming from various glass bottles. The majority are body sherds (83%) however a single dark olive green base was also recovered, along with five partial finishes. Two of the finishes are tooled, while another is undetermined. The last two are part of a threaded clear jar.

Unclassified Glass: There is a total of 11 items in this sub-group with 10 of them coming from a light purple object of thick decorative glass. The last item is light green and has an embossed flower design on it. It may be a lid to a jar or another vessel type.

Unclassified Metal: There are two items in this sub-group, the first consisting of a crushed metal ring measuring 9 cm in diameter. The second is a heavy metal disk with a hole in the middle surrounded by a raised lip as if it held a rod or something in place. Both are rusted.

Unclassifiable: n=32

Unclassifiable Glass: There is a total of three items in this sub-group, two of clear glass and one of light green glass. None have them have any distinguishing marks.

Unclassifiable Metal: There are 29 items in this sub-group: six rusted metal straps and 16 tin fragments most likely from tin cans. There are also two copper straps with holes in them, a lead disk with two very small holes on either side of it, measuring 5.2 cm in diameter, a small wire fragment, another strap with holes, a heavy iron broken piece which looks like a corner or edge cover and a small broken v-shaped fragment with a hole in its centre.